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KOMMUNIST

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USSR REPORT

KOMMUNIST

No 14, September 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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#### AT THE LEVEL OF PARTY REQUIREMENTS

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[Text] The solution of the broad and difficult problems set by the 27th CPSU Congress presumes the comprehensive growth of the reorganizing power of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the purposeful utilization of the entire creative power of science in the interest of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, the full implementation of the constructive possibilities of socialism, the elimination of the inertia of obsolete approaches, the establishment of an atmosphere of creative quest, and making a decisive turn toward practical requirements. The enhancement of theoretical activities is our most important task today.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" is an essential step in this direction.

This is a document of major theoretical and political significance and a new confirmation of the dynamism and constructive nature of contemporary party policy and of the party's tireless concern for the creative development of revolutionary theory on the basis of the all-round interpretation of the great legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the study of the new phenomena in life, historical experience and the achievements of contemporary science.

Awareness of the urgency and importance of revolutionary social change, and the party's firm resolve steadfastly to pursue the strategy of acceleration in the development of our society and its growing theoretical maturity have given this document the imprint of creative depth and daring.

In concretizing and developing the innovative stipulations of the 27th Congress and the concepts and conclusions of the Central Committee political report and the new edition of the CPSU program, the CPSU Central Committee resolution arms social scientists, ideological workers and all party members with a clear and accurate understanding of what must be done for the party's and society's ideological life to become more interesting and productive and for developing in social science a creative atmosphere and favorable conditions for daring scientific research and surmounting scholasticism, bookishness, and dogmatism on the one hand, crawling empiricism, narrow practicalism, adaptation to circumstances and scorn for theory, on the other. The resolution includes a broad program for the reorganization of the entire

social science system in accordance with practical requirements. KOMMUNIST has been assigned a responsible role in the implementation of this program.

In formulating their plan of measures for the implementation of the resolution, the editors clearly realize that organizing the work of the journal on a stable and long-term basis on a qualitatively new level, contributing to the development of a new way of thinking and new approaches in political, organizational, economic and ideological education work, and efficiently fighting sluggishness, routine and obsolete concepts in theory and practice means being imbued with the spirit of the reorganization, realizing its urgent and profoundly revolutionary nature and joining in the reconstruction by starting, first of all, with ourselves.

To be a rostrum of developing social thinking, summation of the social experience of the masses and at the head of the theoretical interpretation of new problems created by the practice of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country was the way in which the Central Committee resolution described the role of KOMMUNIST under the new historical conditions. Obviously, this document is addressed not only to KOMMUNIST. By implementing its stipulations, the journal will act as part of the common party ranks. It will actively join in the creative search for new theoretical solution to topical practical problems.

What type of reorganization will there be in the journal's work in the light of the CPSU Central Committee resolution?

The decisive prerequisite for the implementation of the difficult and responsible assignments set to the journal is, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist tradition, comprehensively to contribute to bringing all sectors of social studies closer to life, to practical work. What makes this even more important is the fact that in recent years many social scientists were carried away by a description of the features of the maturity reached by socialism, shifting into "the clouds of romantic dreams," distancing themselves from the realities of life further and further. Yet the "prime obligation of those who are seeking 'ways to human happiness,'" V.I. Lenin emphasized, is "not to fool themselves, to have the courage to frankly acknowledge that which is."

In considering the profound interpretation of the concepts, conclusions and stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress its main task, the journal will concentrate its efforts on the all-round identification of the conceptual, socioeconomic, moral and psychological aspects of the country's accelerated development. This will inevitably demand an even greater integration among social sciences, the elimination of the inertia of "departmentalism" in scientific activities, assertion in the journal's work of a comprehensive approach to the discussion of topical problems of social development, conversion to new methods in the organization of broad groups of authors, which would include workers in the various areas of the social, natural and technical sciences, thus ensuring the interdisciplinary study of such problems.

In the area of the key problems of the concept of acceleration, as the fullest possible theoretical manifestation of the objective requirements of the

contemporary stage in the development of Soviet society, the journal intends to publish a number of editorial and signed articles which will reveal the profound continuity of the links between the innovative stipulations of the congress and the overall structure of the ideas of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism and rich historical experience. The purpose of these publications is to mobilize the tremendous creative potential of Marxist-Leninist science in the interpretation of the new problems created by life, to draw attention to the most important theoretical aspects of party domestic and foreign policy, to prevent the dispersal of efforts, fragmentation and trivial topics and, on this basis, to earmark the main "growth points" of scientific knowledge.

The priority trends indicated in the resolution in the area of scientific research, related to the problems of the dialectics of the development of socialist society at the new historical stage, the sociophilosophical and methodological problems of scientific and technical progress and the increased role of the human factor in the progressive development of society will be the essential long-term line of work followed by the journal. The discussion of these prime problems of philosophy and scientific communism by the journal must provide and accurate conceptual and methodological guidance in the development and interpretation of the topical problems of economic theory, the radical reform of the economic mechanism and the development of the social, political and spiritual areas of our society.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on KOMMUNIST provides not only a conceptual foundation for the restructuring of the entire system of social relations but also a detailed enumeration of logically interrelated specific problems on which social scientists must concentrate. In the light of this program the editors are drafting their work plans for the immediate and more distant future, revising and concretizing the topics of articles, concerning themselves with the genre variety of publications, and considering ways for more efficient cooperation with party, soviet and economic bodies, scientific institutions, social and creative organizations, editors of newspapers, journals, radio and television, and publishing houses. In formulating a comprehensive plan of measures for the implementation of the resolution and improving their structure, the editors of KOMMUNIST are critically reviewing unsuitable ways and means of work, orienting themselves primarily toward direct and efficient relations with labor, scientific and creative collectives and the readership at large.

The journal intends extensively to sponsor roundtable discussions directly at enterprises and scientific institutions and, together with party scientific and training institutions and institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VUZ Departments, to organize theoretical conferences and seminars, editorial meetings and interviews with noted personalities in domestic and world science and culture and representatives of ministries and departments, and international bilateral and multilateral conferences. The editors will systematically study progressive experience on-site, based on reports by the readers, in order to write articles based on specific data on problems of partywide and national significance. The journal will regularly publish analytical surveys of editorial mail, reports on readers' conferences and their views and suggestions on individual theoretical and practical problems.

In order to solve the problems assigned to the journal by the CPSU Central Committee, the best forces of our ideological aktiv, science, journalism and culture must be recruited and the creative aktiv must be significantly broadened with the addition of new authors.

Understandably, in reorganizing its activities on the broadest possible democratic basis, the journal must increase the strictness of its requirements concerning the materials sent to the editors. To enhance the work of the journal to a qualitatively new level means, above all, to ensure the high quality of materials in terms of content and form. This cannot be accomplished without reliably blocking all kinds of mediocrity, superficiality, speculative theorizing and boring edifications. It is only profoundly theoretically planned articles, based on accurate data, really contributing to scientific knowledge, and substantiated suggestions, competent in the full meaning of the term, that deserve to be published in KOMMUNIST. This is demanded by the Central Committee and by the million-strong readership.

Conceptual and methodological principle-mindedness is the most important prerequisite for party-mindedness in science. Serving the basic interest of the working class and all working people and serving the truth are two aspects of the single work on the revolutionary reorganization of the world. The systematic pursuit of the class approach, to which any vulgarizing is alien, in the assessments of social phenomena, does not exclude but presumes the strengthened humanistic orientation of scientific research, consideration of dialectical interconnections among basic interests of the working class and the general democratic and humanistic ideals and values of mankind. Taking all of this into consideration, the journal will increase its exigency toward the materials it publishes. It is from this viewpoint that it will also analyze the activities of publishing houses and review publications in general social and literary-artistic journals.

The assertion of a new way of thinking in science means abandoning standardized-doctrinary attitudes toward life and practical experience and ordinary yet obsolete thinking systems and the hypnosis of past experience. Continuity must not limit but, conversely, broaden the outlook of the scientist. It must contribute to the development of a feeling for the new and the ability to see not only that which is but also that which has just appeared, that which could and should exist. That is why turning the entire front of the social sciences to face life and practical experience does not mean any belittling of the role of basic research or the narrow-pragmatic circumstantial understanding of scientific objectives and tasks. Conversely, science will be the more helpful to practical work the more it looks at matters broadly, the more broadly and profoundly it provides theoretical summations and the farther it can look into the future. The party and society vitally need today the study of various ways of solving problems, not excluding alternatives, substantiated forecasts and reliable recommendations.

The ability to think and act in a new fashion presumes firm interest by party, soviet and economic cadres in science, developing a taste and need for theory and steadily enhancing the standards of theoretical knowledge. Without this real initiative autonomy would be inconceivable and so would decisive and

responsible actions. Not instructions but an understanding of the logic of the reconstruction itself should, above all, predetermine everyone's activities.

The editors of KOMMUNIST consider the all-round discussion of the problems of shaping a new way of thinking one of the main trends in their activities, including in the restructuring of their own work.

No real increase in knowledge is possible outside of scientific debates and open comparison and competition among ideas in research areas. This is one of the most important prerequisites for the democratization of social life and increasing openness. The Central Committee resolution calls upon the journal to promote more daringly debates in its publications.

The reader is already familiar with materials included in the new "Discussions and Debates" section. Naturally, this is only the beginning. The editors will determine the range of problems of the social sciences in which it would be expedient to develop a broad comparison of views. This is necessary above all because the need for discussions and debates is specific. It is determined by the state of scientific knowledge in a given area and the degree to which problems have been developed. In the area of the social sciences many problems have long and unequivocally been solved, as is the case in all sciences. However, life has put on the agenda also unstudied or understudied problems of philosophy, political economy, theory of scientific communist, history and other social sciences in which opinions clash within the framework of Marxism-Leninism. Such are, for example, problems of the role, place and historical future of commodity production and the law of value under socialism, the reasons and sources of negative phenomena in the life of socialist society, and means of enhancing the human factor on the basis and in the course of the implementation of the principle of social justice. The journal deems it its obligation to discuss such topics, bearing in mind the formulation of considered and comprehensively thought-out solutions.

The development of discussions is one of the efficient channels for asserting openness and developing democratic principles in scientific activities. Sharing information with the broad public and submitting to its judgment thoughts and views and accounting to it for one's work are mandatory if we are considering the social responsibility of the scientist.

The journal intends firmly to follow this line, so that anything it publishes would be the final, the summed up result of major thoughts, profound scientific studies and comprehensive discussions--the result, the concentrate of the extensive and organizing preparatory work by authors and editorial collectives. We hope that production, scientific and creative collectives, outstanding Soviet scientists, writers, painters and production organizers, workers, kolkhoz members, teachers, engineers, physicians, agronomists, veterans, young people, communists and nonparty people, anyone who cares for the ideas of reconstruction and the renovation of our life, will share in this journal their thoughts and plans and describe the main features of what they have considered, experienced and tried. We are convinced that only thus will KOMMUNIST be able to become a rostrum for developing social thinking and the social experience of the masses; only thus will it be possible to concentrate

the intellectual and moral forces of the party and the entire people on the key problems of the present crucial stage.

Bearing in the mind the radical objective formulated at the 27th Party Congress of having society face the new tasks and direct to their solution the creative potential of the people and of each labor collective, the editors deem it their prime duty to identify more profoundly the basic Leninist views on socialism as the live creativity of the popular masses and the role and significance of the human factor in all social changes.

Our present changes and the reform, earmarked in the resolutions of the April Party Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, are a true revolution in the entire system of social relations, in the minds and hearts of the people and in the mentality and understanding of the contemporary period, M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes.

The conclusion, which is of tremendous conceptual, methodological, moral and psychological significance, is of exceptional importance in understanding the role of the journal in ideological education as a whole and in the restructuring of the social sciences. Our crucial times demand a broad approach, broad summations and daring in the formulation of problems and the assertion of a truly innovative style in sciences, which is incompatible with mental timidity. Furthermore, mental daring and a broad approach must be combined with the most accurate knowledge of facts and of objective possibilities. Again and again we must turn to Lenin's creative laboratory, to the works he wrote in the final years of his life, which offer examples of profound theoretical conclusions precisely based on the real practice of the first experiences in building socialism.

Lenin mercilessly mocked theoreticians who, displaying a "most abstract aspiration for the new," and inordinate daring in general theoretical elaborations, displayed striking timidity in terms of even the most insignificant reform (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, pp 400-401). Lenin's words fully apply to the present. Reorganization is a revolutionary, a broad project. However, it must not be drowned in the flood of general statements, however scientific they may sound.

Guided by the CPSU Central Committee stipulations, the journal is planning to discuss in its pages central problems in the development of socialism, such as the characteristics of the qualitatively new status of Soviet society and the factors for accelerated progress toward it. The qualitatively new status of society, which is the objective of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, cannot be the simple sum of changes in various areas of social life, taken separately. They are, above all, the result of their profound dialectical interaction. Whatever major problem of contemporary economic strategy, social policy, ideological work or foreign political activities of the party we may consider, each one of them presumes a combined solution, the development of corresponding steps in all realms of social life and on all levels of its organization. It is clear, therefore, that if our society is to achieve a qualitatively new status, profound changes must be made in the very strategy of social knowledge. Priorities must be set differently in scientific research; there must be a new organization of

research and in the development of a methodology for the comprehensive approach to the solution of problems and in the reorganization of the types of ties between science and production and social practice.

The journal must take the initiative in drawing the attention of scientists to the difficult problems of contemporary social development and in unifying the efforts of scientists in various fields of knowledge to ensure their solution. It will do everything possible to strengthen and broaden the alliance bequeathed by Lenin between philosophers and workers in the separate natural, technical and social sciences, giving to this alliance a new content, consistent with the requirements of the current stage in the scientific and technical revolution. The journal will discuss in its articles conceptual, methodological, cultural-historical and socioethical aspects of scientific activities, forms of integration among sciences, problems of the organization of research and perfecting the structure of scientific institutions--anything which ensure the efficiency of interdisciplinary relations, scientific cadre mobility and flexible management of science.

The interpretation of topical problems of development of sociopolitical relations is the journal's most important task. The journal intends systematically to publish articles on problems such as trends, methods and means of implementation of a strong social policy, the dynamics of socioclass and national relations, ensuring priority to social objectives in planned economic management, means of democratization of social life on all levels of its organization, and the forms and mechanisms for the implementation of the principles of socialist self-government by the people. It will concentrate on problems of optimizing the interaction among the individual units within the political system and strengthening and developing the multinational Soviet statehood. Articles are being written on a broad range of problems related to the systematic implementation of the principle of social justice and the study of the needs and incentives governing the activities of the people under the conditions of acceleration and the optimal harmony among social, collective and private interest.

The Central Committee resolution indicates the importance of the comprehensive study of the ways and means of eliminating antisocial phenomena. The journal will publish articles on this range of problem as well, dealing with social anomalies under socialism and the ways of their elimination, and on the struggle against unearned income.

The consideration of problems of development of the social area in the journal is inseparable from discussing problems of the increasingly full and deeper mastery by the working people of the wealth of spiritual and material culture. In disseminating the party's cultural policy, the journal will increase its attention to problems of the moral and aesthetic upbringing of the people, the growing generations in particular. It intends permanently to keep in sight the creative problems of literature and the arts and oppose more frequently lack of ideas and conceptual omnivorousness, aesthetic mediocrity and lack of discrimination. It will also publish debates on the development of the art of socialist realism and periodical surveys of musical and theatrical life, radio and television programs and movie reviews.

The discussion of problems related to the nature of contradictions within socialist society and the means of solving them must be organized on the basis of the specific study of processes occurring in economic and social relations, politics and the spiritual area. For example, the interpretation of a broad range of problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress presumes combining the discussion of its political-economic, social, administrative, legal, ethical, aesthetic, ecological and international aspects, criticism based on clear class-oriented positions of the technocratic approach, a scientific approach with the moral and ethical nihilism common to contemporary bourgeois philosophy.

In precisely the same manner the consideration of problems related to the enhanced role of the human factor in social progress will be organically combined with the study of the needs of scientific and technical progress, the practice of communist upbringing of the masses, the experience gained in the school reform, the problem of the higher school, the study, through the methods of the various sciences, of the possibilities of the human intellect as the most important of all social resources, and the comprehensive study of problems of human life and development and interaction between social and natural-biological factors.

The topical aspects of economic theory, above all the dialectics of production forces and production relations, the combination of centralism with autonomy, the Leninist ideas of cooperation and tax-in-kind as applicable to present conditions, must be studied with equal thoroughness and concreteness, on the basis of practical experience. Key problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and conversion to a primarily intensive type of socialist expanded reproduction will be closely related to the extensive discussion of problems of perfecting relations of socialist ownership, improving forms of application of the law of planned development of all public production, the basic economic law of socialism, the law of distribution according to labor, the healthy functioning of socialist commodity-monetary and cost accounting relations, and the restructuring of the administrative system and economic management methods.

The Central Committee instruction concerning the two organically interrelated trends in the radical economic reform: the all-round enhancement of the efficiency of planned centralized management in the solution of strategic problems, defining the pace and ratios in the development of the national economy, and its balancing, on the one hand, and the all-round development of initiative, broadening the range of autonomy and upgrading the responsibility of enterprises and associations, on the other, is of essential significance in shaping the topics of future publications. It is in the context of this twin task that the problem of converting associations and enterprises to real cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing, will be formulated.

In identifying the tremendous opportunities of our economic and sociopolitical system and drawing attention to the rich reserves which are found in the development of its basic advantages and in strengthening general communist principles, the journal will actively oppose all attempts by bourgeois ideology and opportunism at slandering real socialism and emasculating and deadening the revolutionary, the constructive content of Marxist-Leninist

theory. It will expose the reactionary nature of petit bourgeois ideology and its hostility to scientific communism.

The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is inconceivable without the study and summation of the experience, achievements and problems of world socialism. The journal will focus on the major changes occurring in the socialist community at the present crucial historical stage. Leaders of fraternal parties and noted scientists will speak out on the basic aspects of these problems; joint discussions of topical problems of building socialism and communism and international politics will be held. The national responsibility and international interaction among the socialist countries and their political and ideological cooperation, world socialism and the liberated countries are topics of articles already being prepared for publication. The editors will also consider topical problems of development of cooperation among socialist countries within CEMA and new forms economic interaction among them. A number of articles will discuss specific experience in solving scientific and technical and socioeconomic problems in individual countries.

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist concepts, the journal will comprehensively consider topical problems of contemporary global developments and their trends and contradictions. The sharp turn taken in the life of our country and the entire planet, the threat of nuclear annihilation hanging over mankind, the aggravations caused by scientific and technical progress and global problems ascribe unparalleled gravity to the ideological struggle on basic conceptual problems and make relevant the task of the humanistic conceptual orientation of the people in the contemporary dynamic, varied, conflicting and largely interrelated world. To an increasing extent these problems are drawing attention at home and abroad, not only of philosophers and sociologists but also of natural scientists, writers and painters. The mass information and propaganda media are actively joining in their discussion. It is here that conflicting and incompatible systems and values clash.

In their work in this area the editors proceed from the principled CPSU conclusion on the similarity of basic interests of the working class and all working people and the objectives of the communists and the basic humanistic values of mankind. This means that the communists cannot carry out their assignments in the struggle for a scientific outlook without setting up a common front by progressive, peace-loving and democratic forces and participating in harnessing the entire spiritual potential of culture.

In 1922, in discussing the program of the journal *POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA*, V.I. Lenin wrote: "It would be the greatest and worst error which a Marxist could make to think that the multimillion-strong people's...masses, doomed by all of contemporary society to darkness, ignorance and prejudice, can eliminate such darkness only by following the direct line of purely Marxist education" (op cit., vol 45, p 26). A great deal has changed since. As a whole, mankind has become better educated and its technical power has increased immeasurably. However, we should not ignore the fact that the thinking of millions of people throughout the world is subject to the concentrated influence of man-hating militaristic propaganda. To counter such propaganda by acting exclusively through strictly Marxist education means to make the error against which Lenin cautioned. Taking this into consideration,

the journal intends to publish more frequently articles by progressive men of world culture--scientists, writers, representatives of broad democratic movements--and materials on international congresses and conferences on preserving peace and life on earth.

The journal will also publish articles based on scientific Marxism-Leninism dealing with mankind's future, ways of solving global problems, and incompatibility between war and the arms race and scientific and technical progress.

All of this together should highlight the conceptual foundation of our party's thesis of a new type of political thinking, and the multidimensionality of our philosophy of the world as a set of scientific, political and sociomoral ideas and values which are the foundations of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state and its peace strategy.

The thesis of the peaceful nature of foreign policy as an organic blend of the new political philosophy of peace and a platform of specific and decisive actions, based on the realities of the nuclear-space age, in which the historical confrontation between socialism can and must develop exclusively in peaceful forms, will be the ideological-theoretical pivot of the journal's articles on problems of international relations.

Attention will be focused on the new phenomena characterizing the growing impact of world socialism on the development of international processes, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the growth of contradictions between labor and capital and among the main centers of contemporary imperialism, the multinational corporations and the national-state form of political organization of society and between the interests of the military-industrial complex and the broad popular masses as well as between imperialism and the developing countries and peoples.

The journal will extensively cover the concept of peaceful coexistence in the nuclear age, the foundations for the creation of a universal system of international security, the influence of the military-industrial complex on shaping U.S. foreign policy, the nature of contemporary neocolonialism, and regional problems. It will consider the central problems of the economic competition between socialism and capitalism, structural changes in the bourgeois economy, new manifestations of the crisis in state-monopoly control and the intensified unevenness in the development of countries within the capitalist system.

KOMMUNIST will publish articles by noted personalities of the world communist and worker movements, covering a broad range of problems related to the development of the global revolutionary process and the new problems and tasks which have appeared in recent years. The journal will discuss important topics such as revolution and peace in the nuclear age, socialist orientation and a noncapitalist way of development, the working class in the contemporary world, the export of counterrevolution today, and the new conditions and forms of struggle waged by the working class and the people's masses for independence and freedom in various parts of the world. It will dedicate a series of articles on the broad democratic movements of our time.

One of the leading trends in the reorganization of the journal's work will be to extend the range of critical-bibliographic articles and to improve their quality. The main attention will be addressed to writing problem-analytical reviews of books on the social sciences, art, literature and education. Such surveys must provide an assessment of the situation in the respective areas, and the problems and prospects of their development. Reviews will be written on publications in social-study journals with which the journal will actively cooperate. The critical-bibliographic section in KOMMUNIST will also include analytical surveys of activities of publishing houses. The plans of the editors call for surveys of articles published in the theoretical journals of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries and the communist parties in the capitalist and developing countries, covering a number of problems. In all such work the editors will strictly observe the instructions of the Central Committee to the effect that all critical-bibliographic activities in KOMMUNIST must embody party principle-mindedness, high scientific criteria, objectivity and exigency, which would exclude any efforts at settling group or personal accounts, tastelessness and objectivistic prejudices and labeling.

The journal will take a number of steps to intensify scientific studies on the history of the CPSU and the world communist and worker movements and Soviet and general history. In articles on problems of history, we shall try organically to combine the study of the past with the task of interpreting the present and looking into the future. The editors will discuss with scientists the state and prospects of development of the historical sciences.

"What we are planning for the country we shall begin with the party. The main thing will be activeness. We must reject even the slightest manifestations of inertia and sluggishness. Above all, the party must get closer to the people, be familiar with its needs and feel the pulsebeat of the people. We shall accomplish all of this for the people are following the party," M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with the Krasnodar working people. The journal considers comprehensive cooperation in developing the leading role of the CPSU and actively participating in the development of the theory of party building one of its prime duties. This means not simply commenting on decisions or mindless repetition of familiar truths of what the party expects of the scientists, but of a profound study of the laws governing the development of intraparty life and a daring analysis of its real problems.

Identifying the party's vanguard role in the socioeconomic acceleration of our society and the study, summation and dissemination of the new forms and methods of political, organizational and ideological activities of party committees demand original means in the presentation of party topics which are traditional to this journal. Above all, the editors intend to lend more frequently than in the past its pages to the party activists, to secretaries of party committees on all levels, party group organizers, propagandists and rank-and-file party members. Their articles will reflect the live experience gained in the radical restructuring of party work, perfecting political management style and methods, strengthening within the party the atmosphere of creativity, comradeship, principle-minded exigency and criticism and self-criticism, and educating the party members in the spirit of bolshevik traditions.

Enhancing the level of party leadership of the economy and the work of soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and the other public organizations, enhancing political and legal standards, strengthening law and order, the struggle against bureaucratism, mastery of the contemporary approaches in cadre policy, improving the qualitative structure of party ranks, comprehensively developing the initiative of party and nonparty members, and improving intraparty relations are problems on which the journal intends to focus its prime attention.

The tasks which arise today in the course of the radical restructuring of party work most urgently require turning to the revolutionary experience of our party. This is particularly important on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Our journal is preparing for the great anniversary of the revolution a series of theoretical and political articles which will describe the comprehensive nature of the experience of socialism and the ability of our party to act flexibly and creatively under complex historical circumstances, to learn from the experience of the past and to find accurate solutions for further progress on the path set by the October Revolution. The overall intent of these articles will be to reflect the live continuity of time and the consistency between revolutionary traditions and the overall moral and political atmosphere which developed after the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress. Articles showing the dialectics, continuity and innovation in party activities and the relevance of V.I. Lenin's theoretical and political legacy and the lessons learned from the implementation of his ideas in the practical building of socialism will be published. The reader will become familiar with materials on the connection between the economic program of bolshevism and contemporaneity, the first steps in the establishment of socialist self-government by the people in our country and the moral lessons learned from the October Revolution and the role of revolutionary traditions in party ideological-education work. Articles will be published by heads of fraternal parties and representatives of the global communist and worker movements. The influence of the October Revolution on the global revolutionary process will be described by the fighters for national freedom, independence and social progress in the developing countries. Thoughts on the humanism of the great revolution will be shared by noted readers. The journal also intends to provide a selection of interviews with communists and nonparty people representing different generations, and other materials.

Such are, in their most general lines, the plans of the editors and the basic trends in their activities in the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on KOMMUNIST. The task is clear: based on the new development which have already been established in the journal's activities in the postcongress period, as the Central Committee resolution stipulates, it is necessary to enhance its work to a qualitatively new level on a stable and long-term basis. The editors will do everything possible to accomplish this and are relying on the help, creative cooperation and comradely advice and most interested attitude of authors and readers in implementing such partywide and nationwide tasks.

[Editorial note] A meeting was held by the editorial collegium of KOMMUNIST on 15 September, at which the priority and long-term tasks and specific

practical measures related to the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the journal were discussed.

The discussion was opened by I.T. Frolov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief, who stressed the importance of the Central Committee resolution in terms of the creative development of theory and the reorganization of social science and the journal's activities. He submitted for discussion a work plan for KOMMUNIST editors for 1986-1987 on the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution, the main areas of which are described in the editorial.

It is entirely clear, Academician P.N. Fedoseyev said, that the Central Committee resolution 'On the Journal KOMMUNIST' is a broad program of activity for all our scientific forces for the further elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory and summation of the experience in party and state building, and the study of complex international problems and other topical theoretical questions, as inseparably related to social practice. That is precisely the way the collectives of academic scientific institutions reacted to the resolution. It was on this level that we recently discussed the tasks set by the Central Committee to our social science and concluded that creative collectives had to be set up to solve them.

First among the most important priority problems of philosophy and scientific communism listed in the resolution is the dialectics of the development of socialist society at the new historical stage. In setting up a creative collective for the study of this problem, we are emphasizing its two aspects. First, we must bear in mind that the laws of dialectics are not simply universal laws of the functioning of a system but laws of development, of accelerating development. Socialism is the kind of social system whose nearly 70-year history of existence has clearly shown the effect of this law. As we know, the problem of accelerating the progress of socialism was formulated in a novel theoretical and practical aspect in the resolutions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Congress. The second thing to which we must pay attention is the objective nature of the laws of dialectics, which do not operate automatically but are implemented in the course of deliberate human activities.

The Academy of Sciences presidium is now also setting up a number of creative collectives to work on problems of the further development of socialist production relations, and perfecting planning and the entire economic mechanism. Special work must be done on problems of commodity-monetary relations in their interaction with the centralized planning system, which includes, perhaps more than anything else, planned price setting. Without developing and implementing price-setting scientific principles, it is in general impossible to ensure the normal functioning of cost accounting relations in their commodity-monetary form.

Under contemporary conditions the problems of socialist democracy assume particular significance. A creative collective will be organized to work on the various aspects of these topical subjects. Finally, we intend to set up, again on an interdisciplinary basis, a collective of scientists which would undertake the comprehensive study of the problems of theory and history of

culture, paying prime attention to methodological problems related to the theory of socialist realism as an artistic method.

Let us point out that the successful development of interdisciplinary studies, which are assuming increasing importance, depends on the solution of a number of methodological problems of our social sciences. Such problems arise, for example, in the comprehensive study of the problems of man, which require extensive cooperation. The enhancement of the human factor is one of the decisive prerequisites and an objective in the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The efforts of our social scientists must be concentrated on developing ways for the solution of this problem. That is precisely why the Academy of Sciences has decided to set up a scientific council for the comprehensive study of this range of problems.

I can confidently say that the creative collectives working within the system of the Academy of Sciences are showing great interest in organizing research jointly with the journal. Currently the academy is discussing problems related to the organization of such cooperation so that it may recommend to the editors the names of possible participants.

The journal **KOMMUNIST** can become the spokesman of public opinion and an efficient instrument in shaping it. In turn, we could put at the disposal of the journal lively and interesting data on surveys of public opinion conducted on various problems by the Institute of Sociological Research and respective republic centers and enterprise sociological laboratories.

Let me say a few words on creative discussions. They have been missing from the journal for quite some time. The timid efforts to organize the discussion of a problem of interest to the scientific public, which have taken place, have ended with virtually no results. Discussions on truly debatable problems and on topical scientific works published in the press are quite necessary. However, they require serious preparations. In starting a discussion, we must consider how to carry it out and how to sum up its results in order to ensure truly creative progress in the theoretical aspects of the matter. No one needs a debate for its own sake.

One of the tasks of **KOMMUNIST** is regularly to analyze the work of social studies journals published in the country. The presidium of the Academy of Sciences intends to discuss the work of such journals at a special conference to be held in the immediate future. Their orientation toward **KOMMUNIST** should help them to enhance the theoretical level of their publications. So far, it cannot be said that the activities of social-science periodicals have been tangibly restructured in the light of party requirements.

As to the work plan submitted at our present discussion, let us note the different degree of completeness and thoroughness with which its individual sections have been presented.

For example, problems of covering the practical experience in party work and perfecting its style have been developed quite thoroughly. Yet the list of general theoretical problems, methodological in particular, as well as of problems studied in the various areas of the social sciences need, in my view,

further work and a more detailed presentation. We shall instruct the academic institutes to submit to the editors their considerations on this matter.

Such more specific developments are needed above all in the area of dialectical materialism. This also applies to the part in the plan which deals with publications on topics of political economy.

In developing in the journal topical socioeconomic problems such as, for example, price setting, it is important to take into consideration the reaction of public opinion to suggested recommendations and to rely on it. Theory, politics and public opinion must march hand-in-hand and agree with each other. In undertaking the reform of a given unit in the economic mechanism or in preparing to take one political step or another, we must, as the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes, take into consideration public opinion and prepare it. The Central Committee has given us an excellent example of attitude toward public opinion. I am referring to the decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on holding an open competition for the main monument to victory in Moscow, and ending plans and other projects related to transferring some of the stock of northern and Siberian rivers to the southern parts of the country. I repeat, we must approach the formulation of scientific and practical recommendations by taking public opinion into consideration in solving the problems discussed in the journal.

The party Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," emphasized in his address Ye.Z. Razumov, first deputy head of organizational-party work at the CPSU Central Committee, is a document of major theoretical and political significance. Its adoption is, unquestionably, a major event in our social life. This document is distinguished by its constructive approach to the solution of problems related to reorganizing the work of KOMMUNIST and of the entire social sciences. As one can easily note, it does not have a detailed "inventory" of shortcomings which have taken place in the journal's work. The main attention is concentrated on the formulation of large-scale theoretical and political problems. The Central Committee proceeds from the fact that our social science aktiv can draw the necessary conclusions from this quite unusual document in terms of its form and content. The resolution convincingly proves the great importance which the Central Committee attaches to the journal's work, to the major role which it must play in the reorganization of all aspects of the country's social life.

In my view, the plan which the editors have formulated for the journal's work is quite thorough.

I would like to discuss problems of party building. I believe that the plan includes a broad range of topical themes. The main feature which should determine their development is the study of the comprehensive activities of party organizations and, above all, problems related to the reorganization.

So far, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his recent speeches, the reorganization is not taking place as rapidly and successfully as one would wish and is encountering numerous difficulties, for it is a question not of repainting the face of the building but of making deep improvements in all aspects of party work. The reorganization presumes the ability self-

critically to evaluate the results of one's activities, something to which many people have not become accustomed, for which reason they find it very difficult.

Also reflected in the plan are problems of cadre policy. In the light of the requirements of the 27th Congress, such problems will be especially discussed at a Central Committee Plenum. The journal must extensively cover materials on the various aspects of party cadre work. This includes theoretical and practical problems. Also topical are problems which arise in the course of the practical implementation of the principles of democratic centralism.

Particular attention should be paid to upgrading the level of party guidance of the activities of the various units in the political system of socialist society. What makes this even more important is that in the first half of next year the regular congresses of the trade unions and the Komsomol will be held. We believe that attention should also be paid to problems of molding public opinion. They become very important in connection with the major socioeconomic measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee, which require extensive discussion and active propaganda.

Unquestionably, the relevance of the traditional nature of controlling the party structure and the work of the party organizations in training the new reinforcement of party ranks and the upbringing of party members will be preserved for many years into the future.

The 27th CPSU Congress made substantial amendments and additions to the party statutes. Their purpose is to upgrade the role of the party organizations, the discipline and responsibility of party members, the development of their activeness and the advancement of all forms of intraparty life. It is very important for each party organization and every party members to live and act in accordance with the statutes.

We must enhance the level of materials dealing with party building. Sometimes even good quality articles may include an attempt to simplify matters. Articles by some party workers are short of summations. Furthermore, they also include few direct observations. We believe that the editors must substantially enhance their requirements to the authors and see to it that in talking to the readers, they do not depart from their chosen topic.

Our social scientists, noted N.B. Bikkenin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee propaganda department, must review the interpretation of some problems and eliminate encrustations which have accumulated in recent years. I must say that all scientific activities and the preparations of monographs and candidate and doctoral dissertations will greatly depend on the way KOMMUNIST will implement the stipulations contained in the CPSU Central Committee resolution.

We must admit that so far the journal has done insufficient work on new theoretical problems. We must determine the reason for this. It would also be useful to consider negative experience such as, for example, the way problems of developed socialism were being interpreted in the recent past. Frequently the old topic would be taken up and the problem would be solved in

an entirely traditional way with the only difference that, wherever applicable, the words "developed socialism" would be inserted. Currently we find articles in our press in which that same type of manipulating is taking place with the word "acceleration." We must decisively eliminate such a practice in our social sciences, a practice which is causing tremendous harm to the cause. It should be opposed in KOMMUNIST as well.

As to the work plan, in my view, the legal sciences should be discussed even more extensively. The insufficiently theoretically developed problems dealing with the theory of the state and law is being quite painfully manifested in daily social practice.

Let me say a few words on the importance of the book review and bibliography section. Once Aleksandr Trifonovich Tvardovskiy was asked what does he read first in a journal. He answered "the small print," i.e., book reviews and bibliography. It would not be bad at all for the readers to begin their reading of the latest issue of KOMMUNIST with the "small print." To this effect, however, we must enhance the level of reviews and bibliographic work, for occasionally a brief review may tell us more than a full-size article. All editorial departments must participate in the work of the book review-bibliographic section.

In conclusion, however good the plan we are discussing may be, we must always remember that, in the final account, the standard of publications is determined by the type of their contributors.

We tried to formulate an expanded plan, said B.S. Arkhipov, the journal's responsible secretary, in continuing this discussion. However, so far it does not include quite specifically and completely the new, above all the collective forms of work, to the extensive use of which we are directed by the party's Central Committee. By this I mean KOMMUNIST roundtables, readers' conferences, and meetings between the editors and party and economic managers, production frontrankers and men of science and culture; scientific conferences on understudied problems must be held. Such collective measures demand serious preliminary preparations, for which reason we are concerned today with accelerating further work on this part of our plan together with Izdatelstvo Pravda; we are working on updating the forms of presentation of the materials and improving printing quality. The publishing house is making preparations for converting the publication of the journal to phototypesetting. Naturally, for this reason we must begin to think as of now of more thorough preparations of manuscripts for such typesetting.

Today we are concerned more than anything else with the essential renovation of traditional approaches to the development of topics of party building and drastically improving the forms of presentation of materials, said V.I. Kadulin, party building department editor, for which reason the approval of the plan of the department and critical remarks will unquestionably help us in seeking ways of restructuring our work. The crucial nature of the times experienced by the country gives priority to difficult and comprehensive problems of the growing leading role of the party in socialist society. There is nothing automatic in this process. To be the actual vanguard is a requirement which equally applies to the individual party member, to any party

organization and to the party at large. That is why it is so important to seek persistently and efficiently areas of progressive experience in party building, to analyze them profoundly and to describe them in vivid and convincing terms. So far we have been unable to surmount in articles on the practical experience of party committees a predilection for reporting and enumerating a variety of steps, behind which we lose the main thing: experience in live work with people. For the time being the authors of our articles do not consider very willingly or else consider timidly their accomplishments and the difficult yet possible ways of solving difficult problems related to the radical restructuring of party work.

Reorganization frequently means a dramatically sharp struggle between the new and the old. This demands of us to enhance the combativeness of articles and give energetic and efficient support to all healthy forces in the party.

In this work we must learn to make use more ably, sharply and efficiently of all genres of journalistic publicism, including interviews, dialogues, letters to the editors and editorial comments. The genres of theoretical articles, in which frequently scholasticism alienated from life may be found behind verbal tricks and fictitious importance must be firmly updated. In order to eliminate scholasticism, we must regularly undertake the discussion of topical problems of the further development of all areas of our political system, using KOMMUNIST roundtable discussions, in which scientists and practical workers would participate side-by-side. The department has also planned the study of some of these problems through specific sociological research and with the help of the corresponding scientific research institutions. We consider the establishment of close working relations with the journal's readership yet another opportunity for improving our work.

Literature and art and literary-artistic criticism, emphasized N.N. Sibiryakov, editor of the culture department, are today considered with unusual gravity as the most necessary humanitarian component of the acceleration and as a very important prerequisite for the enhancement of the human factor. It is noteworthy that this year alone, the party's Central Committee has adopted a number of most important resolutions on cultural problems. It is important today to intensify efforts to improve concert activities, to create hobby clubs and scientific and technical circles and culture homes and palaces; it is important to enhance amateur artistic performances, extensive experimentation in the theatre, the dissemination of the tasks of the Soviet cultural fund, the development of the graphic arts and the enhancement of their role in the communist upbringing of the working people. The resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" pays considerable attention to problems of culture. All such party decisions are organically related to the party's strategic line, which is the qualitative renovation of our life and its restructuring on a new socioeconomic, scientific and technical and organizational basis.

KOMMUNIST must actively become part of this process, with all of its subdivisions, including the culture department. This restructuring, as we pointed out, is related to intensifying the content and updating and increasing the social significance of journal publications and renovating and increasing the variety of their genres and forms and seeking new authors.

In strengthening "feedback" with our readers, we intend to adopt the rule of discussing their letters in editorial roundtable meetings, directly with those to whom they are addressed, such as, for example, writers.

In their letters the readers occasionally disagree with noted writers, directors and playwrights, criticizing ideological errors found in some works or an openly nihilistic approach to the traditions of Soviet art, a snobbish attitude toward our reality and efforts to idealize the patriarchal past. Our readers indicate with concern the loss by the authors of some works of socioclass criteria in evaluating the events of the past and their nonhistorical and nonclass approach to cultural phenomena and history and their flirtation with mysticism and religious prejudices.

Of late we have received many such letters addressed to noted writers. We believe that roundtable meetings, held at different places and with different participants, at which such topics are discussed will enable us to counter the lack of ideas and conceptual omnivorousness, aesthetic mediocrity and petty descriptions of life, in a new way, more efficiently.

Naturally, this form of work does not mean in the least any weakening of attention by the department to basic, including methodological problems of development of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

A certain revival in criticism has been noted of late. We wish it to be more analytical and profound, so that the articles may not look like cavalry charges but provide a fuller interpretation and study of creative processes occurring in the spiritual area and help us to find our way in contemporary social life and aesthetic practice.

We intend to discuss vital problems of the further development of literary-artistic criticism, together with the editors of VOPROSY LITERATURY and NOVYY MIR. Noted literary experts, critics and writers will participate in this discussion which, perhaps, could turn into a debate.

Why conceal it, until recently we looked at critical-bibliographic materials as quite secondary, as a not quite mandatory "makeweight" to the other journal articles, V.P. Trubnikov, editor of the book review and bibliography department, noted. Frequently, we did without them.... Many a journal issue in the past simply did not include this section. Actually, such a "residual" approach to book reviews and bibliography has still not been entirely eliminated.

The spirit of constructive criticism and self-criticism and the new daring approaches to the study of phenomena of social life, which have been asserted in the past year-and-a-half in our social society, cannot fail to affect the content of book review and bibliographic work of KOMMUNIST. The CPSU Central Committee resolution directly orients us toward its reorganization.

It makes it incumbent upon us profoundly to study and to assess on a principled basis, in a spirit of party exigency, the broadest possible range of phenomena in ideological life, ranging from book output and content of social science journals to the most noteworthy theater performances, motion

pictures and television programs. Therefore, the Central Committee resolution formulates a new concept, a new "model" for the book review-bibliographic department in KOMMUNIST, which is now becoming more specific and more topical, as seen in the plan submitted to the editors for their consideration.

We believe that in the area of reviewing sociopolitical publications, it would be proper to concentrate efforts on the writing of problem-analytical surveys in the priority areas of development of the social sciences, so that the reader may gain an idea not only of the books considered in the surveys but also of the overall condition prevailing in this scientific area. This approach to the study of book production has been reflected in our work plan.

Taking into consideration the tremendous volume of books published in the country, and the quite extensive reviews of such books in sectorial scientific journals and other sociopolitical periodicals, obviously, it would be expedient to limit reviews in KOMMUNIST to individual books. An exception should be made only in the case of works of major sociopolitical importance and basic multiple-volume and encyclopedic publications. We are also planning to make more extensive use of the method of brief reviews-annotations, aimed at drawing the interest of the readers to books which deserve attention and which could prove to be useful to our propaganda cadres.

KOMMUNIST will always survey social science journals, in which case a particular thoughtfulness of assessments and supportive principle-mindedness are particularly important. This very year we intend to publish two such surveys on the way periodicals have developed the problems set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Another problem which I was asked to deal with is the publication of KOMMUNIST materials abroad. Unquestionably, the joint publication with APN of a collection of KOMMUNIST articles three times a year, English, French, German and Spanish, in editions of 60,000 copies, will be a useful and promising undertaking. Such collections will begin to be published regularly next year. Finally, we are working on the possible annual publication of a topic collection of journal articles in foreign languages by Izdatelstvo Progress.

In drafting a work plan, the world revolutionary movement department, emphasized Department Editor V.F. Rubtsov in his speech, the department proceeded from the aspiration to concentrate its efforts on preparing, above all, materials of a problem nature. This applies to the study of problems of the international communist and worker movements and the study of new phenomena in the capitalist world and, in particular, the multinational and global levels of its concentration.

The current level of internationalization of capitalist production enables multinational capital to mount a frontal attack against the working class under the pretext of the noncompetitiveness of "national production," compared with foreign goods, although the latter are goods produced by "domestic" corporations which have moved their production abroad. The mechanism and nature of such "competition" require a more detailed study by our social scientists, and the journal will try to coordinate their efforts in this direction.

Studies of the sources and reasons for the obvious expansion of the mass base of reformist parties of the working class, which act as spokesmen for and promoters of processes of capitalist production integration, accelerated by scientific and technical progress, and as active supporters of involving the developing countries in this process, are of major theoretical and political interest. The bourgeois parties in the developed capitalist countries also play a significant role in such processes, but act under their own slogans of privatization of enterprises, protectionism, "protection" of national interest, dismantling "state social security," etc. Many of our articles will deal with the study of contemporary social democratic movements and bourgeois party policy.

The current leadership of monopoly capitalism finds it suitable to keep a low public profile, laying the entire blame for excesses and for the faults of capitalism, which are obvious to all, on the state and its institutions. Meanwhile, that leadership is setting up its quiet ideological apparatus on a cosmopolitan basis. A study of the real political role of this apparatus in the contemporary world, behind the variety of international clubs, commissions, seminars and encounters, means gaining a fuller idea of our main ideological opponent and on the most promising ways and trends in the ideological struggle against him. This is a well-armed enemy, which makes it incumbent upon us to make our propaganda more efficient and to formulate more convincing arguments in the ideological debates we are conducting today.

The problem of state-monopoly capitalism assumes new aspects, particularly in connection with the reduced sovereignty of even the industrially most developed capitalist countries. These aspects as well must be subject to thoughtful studies. Our time dictates a need for new approaches to the study of many traditional topics within the range of interest of the department. Some of them were formulated in the plan currently under discussion.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution, said Yu.L. Molchanov, editor of the world economics and international relations department, enables us to look at the results of our work of recent years as though with a new pair of eyes: soberly and critically. We must admit that during that time, for a number of reasons problems of global economics and international relations were not properly covered in the journal and that thorough analytical articles were relatively rare.

Above all, we must assert a truly scientific approach in our work. The reorganization of the journal's department of international relations into the department of world economics and international relations is a major practical step in this direction. This will help us to solve our problems on a comprehensive basis, and in a state of close interconnection. Very close attention must be paid to the study of the basic trends in the development and contradictions of the contemporary world, radical changes in the world arena and problems such as the dialectics of international relations, the worsening of global economic ties, increased interdependence among countries and nations, influence of global problems on international relations and the aggravation of the ideological struggle.

As demanded by the CPSU Central Committee, an interpretation of the theoretical foundations and humanistic objectives of the peaceful foreign policy of the party and Soviet state, the profound analysis and interpretation of foreign policy strategy, formulated by the 27th Congress, and the numerous daring and constructive initiatives aimed at preventing nuclear war and saving civilization and life on earth are a most important area in our work.

Close attention must be paid to the processes taking place in the capitalist world, the intensification of its general crisis, contradictions among the basic imperialist centers, the influence of militarism on economics and politics and the strengthening of neoconservatism.

Understandably, the solution of these varied problems will become possible only if we recruit as contributors the best, the most capable scientific cadres. It is also important, in addition to the traditional and long relations maintained with individual scientists, to organize close business cooperation with party scientific and training institutions, scientific research institutes, USSR Academy of Sciences centers and VUZs.

The discussion of the KOMMUNIST work plan, which took place at a meeting of its editorial collegium, will play, we hope, a positive role in improving the organization of all of the journal's activities and its reorganization in the light of the party's requirements. For a variety of reasons, the heads of the departments of philosophy and scientific communism, political economy and economic policy and history were unable to participate in this discussion. However, the main areas of their work are described in the editorial.

The editors ask their authors and readers the following:

What do you think of the areas of restructuring of the journal's work? What specific suggestions could you submit on this account?

In particular, what topics would you suggest for the new section "Discussions and Debates?"

How better to organize the forms of presentation of materials? What new sections or rubrics would you like to see in KOMMUNIST?

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### GROWING EFFECTIVENESS OF SCIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 20-29

[Article by Academician B. Paton, president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, Twice Hero of Socialist Labor]

[Text] The course charted by the CPSU in domestic policy is aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and making profound changes in all areas of life of our society. The essence of the acceleration, as the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress emphasized, lies not only in upgrading the pace of economic growth but, above all, ensuring the new quality of this growth.

As the experience in building socialism has indicated, each of its historical stages has its specific features of economic growth, determined by the level of development of the national economy and the features of its functioning. In the postwar years our economy developed extensively, essentially oriented toward the systematic growth of the material base of output, the commissioning of new enterprises, the development of new territories and the use of increasing amounts of a variety of resources, and ensuring a quantitative increase in the volumes of output. At that time this was a legitimate trend which ensured an overall dynamic development of the national economy.

Subsequently, however, the extensive nature of economic management became no longer consistent with social production requirements: the growth rates of the economy slowed down; its efficiency declined and disproportions in its structure and the pressure applied on the resource potential of the country increased. That is why the need to convert to a different, to a qualitatively new type of economic management became particularly urgent in the past 5-year period, a conversion based on all-round production intensification, scientific and technical progress, structural reorganization of the economy and utilization of the most efficient forms of economic management and labor organization and incentive.

This problem has several components. Specifically, it includes the increased utilization in production of basic scientific results and their immediate and efficient application on different levels of the national economic structure, from individual shops and enterprises to entire economic sectors. This also includes the accelerated development and extensive utilization of the latest

technologies and new types of equipment as good as or superior to the best in the world. Perfecting the forms of integration of science with production assumed most important significance. I shall discuss this in greater detail.

Scientific and technical progress is the principal means of implementation of the innovative strategy of acceleration formulated by the party. The Soviet scientists are facing exceptionally complex and responsible assignments: achieving within the shortest possible time breakthroughs in the main areas of knowledge and ensuring a profound reconstruction of the national economy through scientific and technical achievements. The accelerated progress of our society and the implementation of the broad socioeconomic programs would be impossible without this.

Increasingly, the scientist must provide solutions which, as a result of serious basic studies and developments, consist of specific scientific and technical new developments which are needed by the production process and are an essential factor in intensive development.

It is our direct civic duty to supply industry and agriculture with precisely such innovations. The initiated process of reorganization of the work of scientific organizations is oriented above all toward this. I believe that this calls for a review of the concepts which determine the nature of creative activities in science.

The intensification of the national economy is closely related to the use of new sources of energy, superhigh and superlow pressures and temperatures, toxic and aggressive agents, tremendous speeds of development of technological processes, etc. All of this, while considerably increasing the productive force of labor, demands an extremely cautious, comprehensively weighed and truly scientific approach. Only thus can society confidently attain expected results and avoid steps the long range consequences of which are either unpredictable or unclear.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution particular attention must be paid to the social and ecological consequences of the progress of equipment and technology. The recent accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant and industrial catastrophes elsewhere in the world prove the accuracy of Engels' familiar warning: "Let us not, however, boast excessively of our victories over nature. Nature extracts revenge for each such victory. It is true that each such victory entails, above all, consequences on which we relied; however, the second and third consequences may be different, unforeseen, and quite frequently annulling the value of the first" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, pp 495-496).

Ensuring the high level reliability and total safety of operation becomes and exceptionally important requirement concerning the latest technology and modern technical devices. This applies, above all, to nuclear power industry projects and chemical and radiochemical production facilities, either operating or under construction. All problems arising in such areas must be solved with the mandatory and active participation of highly skilled specialists who can submit on demand to directive-issuing authorities scientifically substantiated analyses and forecasts and recommend efficient

practical steps consistent with the social interest. This is the direct concern of all scientific institutions and their prime obligation.

Incidentally, the productivity of scientific research organizations as well should be judged by the quantity and quality of materialized end results of theoretical and experimental studies and applied developments. I am referring to progressive work processes, new materials with predetermined properties, prototypes of highly efficient equipment and management and control systems or, in other words, all that is contained within the exceptionally broad concept of "modern technology." Obviously, it is only from the viewpoint of the steady accumulation of possibilities and means of updating equipment and technology that today the progress of science itself can be considered. Its increased contribution to the solution of topical national economic problems and upgrading social production efficiency is the main criterion of its merits. It is only thus that the scientific potential of society becomes a real component of the country's national wealth, no less important than machines produced by industry, grain grown by kolkhoz members, coal extracted by the miners and buildings erected by construction workers.

Technical creativity and inventions are a bridge which links scientific theory to production. The discoveries made by scientists, embodied in new technical means and technologies, enrich the content of production forces, expand the constructive possibilities of society, ensure radical changes in labor and act as a bridgehead for the further advancement of scientific and technical progress. The level of available technological equipment gives a clear and quite accurate idea of the extent to which the process of converting science into a direct social production force has advanced.

All work in this area must be oriented toward outstripping the highest worldwide achievements. The need for this was mentioned by M.S. Gorbachev at his meeting with the working people of Togliatti last April. In this area success will be largely determined by the scientific and technical standard of innovations presented by scientists, the depth and daring of the scientific ideas they contain and the thoroughness of their engineering and technological development. Something new becomes convincing and prevails only when it has been raised to a high level of practical readiness.

Production intensification presumes updating the production process as one of the aspect of its development. Since the cost of available basic production capital is not showing any tendency to decline or even stabilize, the problem is to give it essentially new features. Labor tools and means must have a certain latitude in terms of the technological process which is implemented with their help. They must make possible a fast and painless transition from one technology to another. This requirement is consistent with flexible automated production facilities with a wide range of recombination of their working elements. The creation and improvement of such systems is a topical and responsible assignment of scientists and production workers.

The new technologies must be not only progressive at the time of their appearance but also have a certain capacity for future improvements and updating.

Such is the case of electric slag technology, which for the past quarter of a century has successfully served the national economy precisely thanks to the consistent and gradual intensification of the application of its basic physical principles. This proves the truth that technologies of an intensive type must be developed on a firm scientific basis. Empiricism with its inherent element of randomness, can no longer satisfy production innovators. Incidentally, this is the most common explanation for the long sterility of a number of sectorial scientific research institutes, which come out with numerous technologies of transient value, which have no tangible impact on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in industry.

Practical experience indicates that the management of scientific and technical progress requires a differentiated approach to the creation and practical application of new equipment and technology. It is one thing when intensive measures presume tremendous savings in one production factor (such as reducing labor or material outlays by 3-5 percent), and an entirely different thing when a lowering of production outlays becomes by a factor of 2, 3 or more or even affecting of several factors becomes possible. Clearly, it is only in this case that we have taken a sharp turn in intensification, which must be the main target of the alliance between scientists and production workers. This path should be given priority in planning, financing and providing material and technical support and in the mechanism of corresponding material and moral incentives.

The new progressive technologies must become part of current production and must be combined with existing industrial equipment systems. No excessive demands concerning variety and quality of raw materials should be made in this case. Such technologies must be conservationist and ecologically clean. Their developers, who include today scientists, must be thoroughly familiar with all the fine points of contemporary production and future developments of economic sectors.

The foundations for the extensive adoption of essentially new technologies are laid in machine building, which is the key sector of the entire national economy. The party and the government have given the machine building complex the task of drastically upgrading the technical and economic standard and quality of machines, equipment and instruments by the end of the 12th 5-year period. The need for additional steps aimed at accelerating the development and radical updating in machine building was emphasized at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The UkSSR Academy of Sciences is actively cooperating with a number of machine building ministries. Here the emphasis is on solving problems of developing new materials, reducing the material intensiveness of machines and mechanisms, and upgrading their reliability, service life, unit power and productivity.

As a result of specific studies in solid state physics and mechanics and of material, more than 100 new materials have been obtained, most of which are already in use. This includes a wide range of quasimonolithic, quasistratified, powder, ceramic, amorphous, semiconductor, polymer and other materials.

Essentially new technologies for electron-ray, plasma and laser welding, pressure welding, and cavitation hydroabrasive processing, currently widely used in various machine building sectors, were suggested on the basis of studies of metals subjected to various powerful influences. Work in high pressure and temperature physics led to the creation of technologies for the industrial synthesis of diamonds and, on their basis, of high-efficiency machining tools.

Basic studies of the physical and chemical properties of metals and alloys in aggressive led to the development and application of more than 30 different anticorrosion technologies, such as "Donbass" corrosion inhibitors, double metal-ceramic coating, machine-ultrasound, argon-vacuum, chemical-heat processing and others.

Resource-conserving technologies suggested by Ukrainian scientists have been extensively applied in machine building. Their utilization made it possible, to save more than 1 million tons of ferrous metals as part of the republic's Material Intensiveness Scientific and Technical Program alone.

While noting with satisfaction scientific successes and their practical application, let us also emphasize that, unfortunately, still abounding in the practices of our economic management are examples of the way very promising developments by suggested by academic institutions, including unique types, are neglected. It also happens that huge funds and forces are invested in the development and application of obviously weak solutions which are clearly incapable of yielding tangible results. This confirms the need for radical improvements in the system of interaction between science and production. Technology is the area in which the interests of science and production come closest to each other. If we speak of an energetic turn of science to production and of production to science, the most fruitful interaction between scientists and practical workers should take place precisely in the creation and utilization of the latest technology. It is precisely this interaction that is a factor of prime importance in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Let me refer to the experience of the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye.O. Paton, which has maintained close ties with hundreds of organizations and enterprises throughout the country for a number of years. The usefulness of such cooperation has been reciprocal. Practical requirements act as a catalyst for scientific creativity. Basic research is combined with experimental developments and industrial design. Dozens of highly efficient technologies on different levels and for different purposes, prototypes of one-of-a-kind equipment, first-rate materials and reinforcing and protective coatings were developed in record time. Many of them are already being extensively applied in various economic sectors and licenses for them are being sold. Many other institutes of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences are following the same path.

Unfortunately, there is another deeply rooted view according to which activities related to the creation and application of the latest technologies draw scientists away from basic research and are an undesirable "makeweight" to one's own scientific work. This is convincingly disproved by the

experience of the creative collectives of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. Stable contacts between scientific institutions and contemporary production facilities lead to more accurate and clear ideas among scientists concerning the broad problems of society, requiring scientific intervention, and the urgent and strategic tasks related to the development of science itself. Science cannot truly address itself to production needs without the comprehensive strengthening and intensification of such contacts.

The efficient solution of the difficult problems which the new economic reality has set to the scientists is delayed by the type of structures within which research and the practical use of its results are traditionally conducted. The appearance of new organizational forms confirms the initiated process of restructuring in the scientific area.

Under the conditions of economic intensification, scientific research itself is experiencing substantial changes. There is an increasingly clearly manifested combination of theoretical with experimental and applied problems within a single research cycle, with common planning, financing and material and technical and personnel support. The result is the active development of specific basic research as a natural reaction of science to social needs and the intensification of its technological orientation. The principal merit of such research is a clear orientation toward the solution of problems of major national economic significance and obtaining end results ready for practical application. The unhindered conversion to the technological interpretation of basic accomplishments and, subsequently, respective design and engineering work enables us to hasten mastery of scientific and technical innovations in industry and agriculture.

I am convinced that specific basic research is a particularly adequate form of scientific activity under conditions of intensive development of the national economy. At the present time such research is organized on a mass basis in many UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institutes. We can confidently say that this is the right way in reorganizing the work of scientific institutions and a reliable means of drastically upgrading the contribution of science to socioeconomic acceleration.

The traditional structure of academic institutes developed under the influence of so-called "pure" science. The need to update its structure became obvious in recent years. In our academy, for example, a powerful experimental design and production base was developed, the organizations and enterprises of which account for about one-half of the total personnel. This enables us significantly to reduce the time for results of research and developments to attain industrial standards and to upgrade their efficiency and extent of readiness for practical utilization.

As time passed, it became clear that reserves for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress could be utilized more fully by combining institutes with respective design-technological organizations and experimental production facilities and plants, within single scientific and technical complexes. Currently the UkSSR Academy of Sciences has eight such complexes. In addition to strictly scientific institutions, they include design and technological bureaus, experimental production facilities and experimental

plants. The main tasks of the complexes are to combine within a single cycle basic with applied research and experimental design, to guarantee production support of developments and to ensure the efficient and qualitative development of scientific results to a degree of full readiness for practical use. The activities of the complexes are based on comprehensive planning. The high scientific standards and practical significance of their projects are based on the extensive background of theoretical and applied research and developments and the substantial potential not only of scientific but also of highly skilled engineering and technical cadres.

Experience indicates that such complexes, included within the system of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, contribute significantly more than traditional institutes to the fruitfulness of specific basic research and its conversion into extensive practical accomplishments. They provide favorable conditions for greater creativity, drastic increase in the number of technical developments of use to the national economy, improvements in the quality of scientific recommendations and a substantial reduction in the time needed for the practical application of new ideas.

Thus, it took no more than 2.5 years for the scientific and technical complex of the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye.O. Paton of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences to develop and apply, in conjunction with the organizations of the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, one-of-a-kind equipment for contact-spot welding of powerful main pipelines. The method was successfully applied in laying the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline.

The process of setting up complexes in science is as legitimate as the appearance of production associations in industry. To the same extent they follow profound integration trends in the economy of developed socialism and create a firm base for the further strengthening of the alliance among science, technology and production.

The experience of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences stimulated the development of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes (MNTK) in the country, which are now being set up in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree. Two of the first 20 MNTK were created on the basis of the scientific and technical complexes of the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye.O. Paton and the Institute of Problems of Material Studies of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. Let us discuss the first of the two in greater detail.

The complex includes the Institute of Electric Welding itself, the experimental design-technological bureau, experimental plants for welding equipment, welding materials, special electric metallurgy, an experimental production facility and the specialized design-technological bureau for blast metal processing with its experimental production facility.

Participating in the complex are institutes and enterprises of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, Ministry of Machine-Tool and Tool Building Industry, Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and the USSR

Gosagroprom. The complex also includes the All-Union Scientific Research, Design-Engineering and Technological Institute of Electric Welding Equipment (Leningrad), the All-Union Design-Engineering Institute of Welding Production Scientific Production Association (Kiev), the All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute of Oxyacetylene Machine Building (Moscow), the Elektrik Plant in Leningrad, the electric welding equipment plant in Kakhovka, the plant for heavy electric welding equipment in Pskov, the plant for electrothermal equipment in Fastov, the Tsentrosvar Plant in Kalinin, the apparatus-machine plant in Barnaul and others. All of them are solving a single problem: providing scientific and technical and organizational support of priority research and developments in the areas of welding, protective coating and special electrometallurgy. The complex must engage in and coordinate basic and applied research in the stipulated areas and, on the basis of results, develop new progressive technologies, first-rate equipment and promising materials. There are major requirements concerning the quality of the work, which must maintain a high standard and be either equal to or better work done abroad, for the party has called for raising our country to the leading edge in the world and for consolidating its leading positions in the key areas of scientific and technical progress.

Securing a high-level readiness of scientific and technical innovations for their faster and extensive application in production and helping economic sectors in their mastery and effective utilization account for a significant share of the complex's activities.

The engineering centers help to solve problems which arise in this connection. They play a particularly important role in the use of large-scale technological solutions of intersectorial nature.

Practical experience confirms that intersectorial and academic scientific and technical complexes and engineering centers are the optimal forms of organization of scientific research and interaction between science and practical work at the present stage. They create favorable prerequisites for the intensification of scientific research and for drastically increasing the quantity and upgrading the quality of developments in the interest of economic sectors. They help successfully to surmount the notorious departmental barriers and other obstacles on the way to scientific and technical progress.

The implementation of the strategy of acceleration on the basis of the all-round utilization of the achievements of science and technology presumes comprehensive consideration of prospects for social development and a thorough identification of priority scientific areas and the mobilization of forces and resources for ensuring the dynamically balanced growth of the socialist economy. We must look ahead in order promptly to amend our programs and plans so that the consequences of our reorganizing activities would not catch us unawares. Under the conditions of the accelerated intensification of forecasting activities, science assumes a special function, the significance of which would be difficult to overestimate. Forecasts must provide accurate guidelines for the scientists and the planning authorities. They must substantiate the best ways of solving national economic problems, contribute to the efficient utilization of scientific and production potential and indicate the strategy and tactics of creative research and development.

Therefore, formulating scientific forecasts must be always kept in sight by the leading organizations in the country. They contribute to the formulation of comprehensive programs for scientific and technical progress on the republic, union and international levels and the timely concentration of efforts on particularly important areas and in refining priorities.

The implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA members until the year 2000 assumes most important economic and political significance. To our country and the other socialist states this document is, actually, a guide for purposeful action aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. A very complex problem must be solved through joint efforts and within the extremely short time of no more than 15 years: attaining a leading position in the world in the key areas of scientific and technical progress, such as the application of electronics in the national economy, comprehensive automation, nuclear power industry, new materials and their production and processing technology, and biotechnology. This will enable the socialist community to enter the third millennium with the most progressive scientific and technical base for public production.

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences is actively participating in work based on this comprehensive program. We have been assigned to provide scientific guidance in one of its five leading areas: "New Materials and Technology of Their Production and Processing." This stipulates the creation and extensive practical application of one-of-a-kind ceramic, composition, polymer, semiconductor, amorphous and other materials. In this connection, important scientific assignments have been issued to a number of UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institutes. We, Ukrainian scientists, are trying to perform our assignments in a model fashion. A great deal of difficulties exist in this area, for which reason, in order to meet the targets of the comprehensive program, today we have mobilized the entire arsenal of necessary means available to the republic's academy and the experience acquired in the accelerated development of a broad-scale application and highly efficient use of first-rate equipment and technology in the national economy.

The application of a new type of economic management based on comprehensive production intensification is inseparable from the immediate and radical enhancement of production quality. In turn, the latter is a decisive prerequisite for upgrading the competitiveness of domestically produced goods and their increasing appearance on the world market. The powerful scientific and technical and production potential, which was developed within a historically short time, made our country one of the most developed industrial states in the world. However, its positions in international trade, both in terms of volume and the content of exports and imports, is still by no means consistent with this potential. So far relatively unprocessed fuel resources and raw materials predominate in Soviet exports; the share of machine building output and other science-intensive sectors is small. Meanwhile, we are purchasing in unjustifiably large quantities foreign technology and equipment to modernize existing production and consumer goods and foodstuffs, although experience indicates that a great deal of this could be successfully produced by ourselves for both domestic consumption and export.

The Western imperialist circles try to use this situation as a tool of foreign policy pressure on the USSR and the other members of the socialist community. They are imposing rigid restrictions on procurements of science-intensive goods with a view to keeping our scientific and technical development in a condition of "controlled lagging." Such efforts are, naturally, unpromising. Nevertheless, we should not ignore their harmfulness.

The reorganization of the national economy and the course charted toward its intensification urgently demand a decisive change in the existing imbalance in the structure of our trade, aimed at a drastic increase in the share of technically complex industrial output in exports and a respective reorientation of imports. This necessitates urgent and decisive steps aimed at radically upgrading the scientific and technical standard and quality of technologies, equipment and serially produced items developed by us. Our country's scientific and technical, production and resource possibilities and experience gained in the development of first-rate equipment and technology enable us to shift the question of upgrading the competitiveness of Soviet output and its reaching new heights in world trade to the level of practical solutions. The firm positions gained on foreign markets must become indicators and criteria of the high quality of domestic output.

Soviet scientists have the high patriotic duty of offering the national economy the type of scientific and technical innovations which will enable domestic output not only to match high world standards but also substantially to outstrip them. Their mastery on a mass production basis within the shortest possible time is the path of qualitative restructuring of the production apparatus of all economic sectors and a significant increase in the export of technically complex items and licenses. In this respect favorable opportunities for fruitful work are created by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for Radically Upgrading Production Quality."

The UkSSR Academy of Sciences ascribes exceptional importance to these problems and is making energetic efforts to ensure their successful solution. A number of inventions have appeared, protected by patents and authorship certificates. During the 11th 5-year period alone there were about 11,000 of them. This enables us to achieve the radical updating of existing production facilities and to upgrade production quality and create good prerequisites for greater exports. The developments include one-of-a-kind materials, prototypes of the latest equipment, flexible automated production systems, robots, manipulators, computer and microprocessor equipment and automated control systems. The fact that the Lenin and State Prizes were awarded to a number of specialists in the republic and the medals earned at large international exhibits and fairs attests to the high standards of the innovations submitted by the UkSSR Academy of Science scientists and, consequently, confirms the existence of potential export opportunities.

Some industrial commodities serially produced on the basis of developments of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences institutes, have enjoyed stable demand on the world markets. With every passing year the volume of exports of equipment and materials for various purposes, manufactured by the enterprises of the

experimental-design and production facilities of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, is growing. Frequently our developments become subjects of license agreements. About 100 licenses were sold during the 11th 5-year period.

The scientists in our academy try to make full use of available scientific, organizational and material and technical prerequisites for the accelerated solution of topical national economic problems of technological updating of output, increasing its efficiency, reaching high quality of domestic output and gaining firm positions on the world market. The successful implementation of these tasks is the specific content of the reorganization of all activities of the republic's scientific organizations in the light of the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The 12th 5-Year Plan has only begun. A great deal of intensive work will have to be done to make it a decisive stage in the reconstruction and renovation which will instill new energy and dynamism and socioeconomic development in Soviet society. An important factor of this process today is the politically responsible and clearly organized work on upgrading the practical contribution of science to the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the successful implementation of the strategy of acceleration. The Soviet scientists take this as their prime civic duty.

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## SELF-FINANCING: RESULTS AND PROBLEMS

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[Text] Conversion to true cost accounting is one of the mandatory components of the radical reform in the management system, formulated at the 27th Party Congress and the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In turn, this socialist economic management method presumes the self-financing of expanded reproduction by basic production units: associations and enterprises. In the context of this twin task of the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism--all-round enhancement of the efficiency of planned and centralized management in solving strategic problems and defining the pace and proportions in the development of the national economy and its balancing, on the one hand, and the all-round development of the initiative and broadening the framework of autonomy and upgrading the responsibility of enterprises and associations--on the other, we must, as the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" emphasizes, "formulate and solve problems of converting enterprises and associations to true cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing...." Some of these problems are considered in the authors of this article, who have article, tried to make extensive use of party-approved existing experience.

### Defining the Nature of Self-Financing

In its most general and essential aspects, self-financing means that after subtracting the funds for socially defined needs, the collectives of socialist enterprises and associations keep the funds they have earned and use them for replacement, consumption and accumulation purposes. The first two ensure simple and, combined with the third, expanded reproduction.

The unity between self-financing and cost accounting is obvious. For it is only with the help of "self-earned" means, and the payment of expenditures out of earnings from the marketing of commodities which have been manufactured and accepted by society, that structural cost accounting principles can be implemented, such as comparing results with costs, ensuring profitability, material incentive and material liability. Yet differences between self-

financing and cost accounting are less obvious, as a result of which these categories are sometimes considered identical. We believe that the concept of cost accounting is considerably broader. In addition to self-financing, it includes other elements of economic independence of the "primary units," related, above all, to planning and procurement activities. Furthermore, cost accounting presumes a system of participation of the masses in managing the economy, in economic self-management, the inseparable elements of which are the elective and accountable nature of officials, publicity, one-man command and collective leadership, and individual responsibility. Cost accounting enterprises have the rights of juridical persons. They can conclude economic contracts, etc.

The concept of self-recovery is related to that of self-financing. It means that funds invested in the functioning of the enterprise, regardless of the financing source (which could be the state, a bank, the collective itself), must be recovered and yield a profit which, as a minimum, will be consistent with the standard efficiency coefficient (profitability). If a profit does not reach the standard level, self-recovery does not fit within the socially necessary time framework and actually does not occur.

The resources obtained under self-recovery conditions are not assigned to the enterprise mandatorily, in all cases and in full. In other words, self-recovery does not exclude the total or partial appropriation by society of such resources and the subsequent assigning to collectives of unearned fixed or working capital.

The no-loss category is applied in practical work. It is occasionally understood merely as balancing through earnings the need for compensation and consumption funds in the absence of profits. We believe, however, that in the broad meaning of the term, no-loss means not only covering production costs with earnings but also showing a standard profit. In other words, enterprises working at a loss are both those which show no profit or are underprofitable (which do not reach standard profits); no-loss enterprises are only enterprises which are adequately profitable. In this sense no loss becomes the same as self-recovery.

Self-financing includes self-recovery. Unlike it, however, it presumes the recovery of only funds earned on a cost accounting basis and returning the results of the recovery to the collective. It is thanks to this final phase that the initial earnings from self-recovery projects can be ensured. By creating a relatively closed cost accounting resource turnover, self-financing represents a more developed and complex category than self-recovery.

Since self-financing is an attribute of cost accounting, to one extent or another it always takes place in cost accounting relations. The collective was issued (formally at least) the obligation of compensating for raw and other material outlays. It was assigned a certain percentage of the amortization fund. Profits were used to set up the enterprise director and production development funds. The repayment of loans is also legitimately considered an element of self-financing. This is also the purpose of fines which compensate for losses caused to the injured party.

At the same time, historically it also developed that, starting with the period of industrialization and to this day, in practice self-financing relations have been drastically limited. For a number of objective and subjective reasons (which should be studied separately) most of the investments were financed from the state budget and the sectorial "budgets." A prerequisite for this was the centralized appropriation from the enterprises of most of the profits and the entire or virtually entire amortization funds for renovation. On the other hand, planned costs frequently economically "legitimized" higher wage funds which essentially depended on wage rates rather than actual economic management results. Shortages of working capital were annually replenished by the budget and, in the course of the year, automatically credited by the bank. Self-financing was more the exception than the rule. Furthermore, even the concept itself was somewhat neglected.

The current need for conversion to self-financing, emphasized in the fundamental party documents, is dictated by a number of reasons. The main among them is the intensification of current production facilities, which requires leaving to enterprises and associations a substantial share of their earned resources and which assigns to the labor collectives a significant share of responsibility for specific economic management results. Such responsibility is possible on the basis of extensive rights which will grant collectives a real influence on production indicators.

Based on the fact that under the conditions of intensification and corresponding growth of autonomy of enterprises (associations) relative to sources of financing, the role of their own funds (and credits) objectively is bound to be enhanced. The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum particularly noted the need "to broaden ever further" the principles of self-recovery and self-financing. "It has now been decided, and extensive preparations are under way," said M.S. Gorbachev at the meeting with the party aktiv of Krasnodar Kray, "that in 1987 ministries, such as those of chemical machine building, automotive industry, petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, instrument making, automation equipment and control systems and the maritime fleet, and 36 large enterprises and associations of 17 industrial ministries, will be converted to total cost accounting, self-financing and self-recovery, i.e., on the basis of the principles currently applied by the VAZ and Sumy Machine Building Association."

Conversion to self-financing is consistent with the requirements of the time. It is very legitimate but by no means automatically attainable. Its pace, scale and depth largely depend on the extent of preparations and scientific substantiation of steps taken in this direction, and on our firmness and purposefulness. Unfortunately, many central and local economic and administrative departments, and ministries display a certain half-heartedness in promoting self-financing and leave loopholes for the parasitical "extraction" of resources from the socioeconomic center. Other managers of associations and enterprises show inertia and indifference toward this new development and are sometimes even prejudiced against it. This reproduces and strengthens a shortcoming in the activities of a number of superior management units, such as slowness in the dissemination of the new conditions and in spreading them throughout the national economy.

As a result, the conversion to the new economic management methods is becoming inadmissibly delayed. Yet the party thoroughly emphasizes that we must bestir ourselves. This 5-year period we must catch up with our delays of the 1970s and beginning of 1980s and cover a distance which, under usual "tranquil" circumstances would require a great deal more time. The historically allocated time is introducing its specific features in the criteria and forms of economic work and demands intolerance of cosmetic measures and superficial effects and the elimination of even the slightest slackening of energy or slowdown in the pace of reorganization of the management system.

#### Socioeconomic Results of Real Self-Financing Experience

The future development of self-financing relations in width and in depth must be based on the objective study of the experience acquired in their application. Let us consider from this viewpoint the activities of the Sumy Machine Building NPO imeni M.V. Frunze, which drafted and gained the approval of superior units of all respective legal documents and which actually converted to the new economic management conditions as of the start of 1985.

A characteristic feature of the self-financing system which was established at the Sumy Association is its clearly manifested encouragement of the adoption and strict implementation of stressed collective plans. It is important to note in this connection that within the framework of the mechanism operating within most sectors and areas, the collectives are rated on the basis of the percentage of plan fulfillment (and overfulfillment). As a rule, the best "percentiles" are achieved by enterprises which have been able, on the one hand, to lower their plan based on results (i.e., volume of output, quality and extent of updating, profits and scientific and technical progress) and, on the other, to increase it in terms of outlays, such as capital, material and labor intensiveness, overall production cost, investments and working capital.

Such "antistimuli" are eliminated under the conditions of the association's profit distribution method: on each ruble of profit the collective is paid 71 kopeks; the rest goes to the state and the ministry funds. The amount of such payments have been set in such a way as to ensure the financial (and, in the final account, the corresponding material and labor) resources for meeting the socioeconomic requirements of society on a centralized basis. Consequently, the amount depends on the specific assignments implemented on the basis of a given long-term national economic plan.

The profit left at the disposal of the Sumy workers goes into the following funds: incentive (currently its share of the wage fund is approximately 20-22 percent; by the end of the 5-year plan it will reach 30-33 percent); production development process (its share of the value of fixed production capital is today 4 percent; it will reach, correspondingly, 6 percent and, together with withholdings from the unified fund for the development of science and technology, 6 and 7 percent). The unified production development fund will be used for the entire technical retooling and expansion of capacities and financing the growth of working capital (according to plan estimates, this fund will make it possible entirely to update the active part of fixed assets over a 10-year period).

Since the development funds (together with amortization funds and loans) are the only channels for capital investments and working capital (i.e., they are totally oriented toward self-financing), leaving to the collective most of the profit was realistically justified and actually determined by its labor base: earnings. The budget, the general-sectorial sources, are used only to finance new enterprises created within the framework of the association (needed by the state but, occasionally, also by the collective, a factor which lowers profitability). They are also used for individual state scientific and technical projects and plan-orders.

The new economic situation creates an essentially new approach to the plan. If the Sumy people lower it, they penalize themselves monetarily and morally, for in this case the growth of incentive funds will be slowed down. This, as we noted, also determines the development of production and the sociocultural progress of the collective (a substantial wage fund supplement).

The concept of the minimum admissible profit begins actively to "operate," without which the enterprise is unable to meet even its most modest needs for self-financing. Naturally, it would be even better to exceed this minimum. This would require the existence of an adequate portfolio of orders, the conclusion of a maximal number of contracts and their accurate observation (in order to avoid penalties), improved quality of output and a comprehensive lowering of production costs. The improved quality and updated variety of produced goods and reduced production costs are based essentially on scientific and technical progress which, therefore, becomes vitally necessary and is applied essentially "from within" rather than from "the outside." Naturally, it is a question of true progress, which becomes such only when high socioeconomic efficiency has been achieved. That is why the collective becomes the type of customer for new equipment who does not tolerate its unsubstantiated price increases, low quality or obsolescence of design. The collective must be equally demanding toward procurers of raw materials, materials and complementing parts.

This is one aspect of the matter. The other is the efficient utilization of obtained resources. The sooner the collective becomes oriented toward profit from resources used on a cost accounting basis, the sooner it develops an interest for the efficient return on each invested ruble, an interest which inevitably becomes powerful. Practical advantages is what makes resource conservation an objective reality and a fact of daily life.

Practical experience did not fail the expectations based on scientific developments, confirming once again that nothing can be more practical than a good theory. The volume of output in 1985 increased by 14.4 percent (instead of 12.8 percent as planned) as against 12 percent in terms of the average annual figures for the 4 preceding years. Profits increased by 32.4 percent (instead of 28.6 percent as planned) as against the average annual increase for 1981-1984, of 18.4 percent. Nine processing centers were opened in 1985 (six in 1984) and 86 progressive technological processes (71), seven comprehensively mechanized sections (5), and 15 low-waste and wasteless processes (12) were set up. By the end of 1985 there were 135 metal cutting machine-tools with numerical programming and 19 processing centers.

It became clear as the 1986 was being drafted, that even with a maximal lowering of production costs the amount of profits of the collective would be unsatisfactory. In order to increase them, it was decided to increase the volume of output over and above existing capacities, i.e., to seek in advance resources for additional investments, procure new orders worth 15 to 20 million rubles which, at this point, no one has as yet requested (let us not that under the previous conditions a shortage of capacities and orders would have been used as an argument against upgrading the plan.

The interest in stressed assignments, created by the self-financing mechanism, is confirmed by long-term computations (proving the legitimacy and progressiveness of the conversion to more mobilizing plans). Despite the assignment of significantly updating variety and mastering more complex and labor intensive items, the 12th 5-Year Plan calls for increasing commodity output by 63.2 percent and profits by a factor of 2.5.

Since the share of withholdings for the budget from the increased share of the profit is higher than the previous one (the basic), as profits increase this 5-year period the centralized share will reach 32 percent by 1990 or will increase by a factor of 2.9 compared to 1985. We see here a prototype of a progressive taxation used actually for the first time in the present stage of the development of the Soviet economy.

During the current 5-year period more than 66 percent of the profit left at the disposal of the association will be used for production development. Most of it will be invested in production facilities. Another roughly 55 percent of this amount will come from amortization withholdings and almost 19 percent from long-term loans issued by the USSR Srobybank. About 64 percent of capital investments for building production facilities will be for technical retooling and approximately 36 percent for expanding operating enterprises (carried out on a new technical basis and, in this sense, classified as intensive type of reproduction). As a result of the direct conversion to detailed designing and combination of plant and interdepartmental acceptance tests of items, the length of the overall cycle of the development of new equipment will be reduced by no less than one-half.

As efficiency increases, so will the income of the working people. By 1990 the share of material incentive in the wage fund will be 22.3 percent, as compared to 15.2 percent in 1985. Withholdings for sociocultural measures and housing construction will increase as well. The association estimates that for each percent of increased productivity average wages will increase by 0.52 percent.

The social results of the experiment are also expressed in a number of other indicators. By 1985 the working conditions of 860 workers were improved, which is one-third more than in 1984. During the year nearly 17,000 square meters of housing, a children's combine for 280 places and a children's ward in the polyclinic for 250 visits per shift were built. As a result of the steps which were taken, cadre turnover dropped by 12.5 percent, equaling 5.6 percent. Labor discipline strengthened and working time losses from absenteeism dropped by 22 percent.

The positive results of the new developments at the Sumy NPO (and at the AvtoVAZ) and the possibilities offered to them were an impetus and a basis for their application in a number of industrial sectors as mentioned. These results are an important specific argument in favor of the subsequent extensive dissemination of the Sumy experience in industry as a whole and in other economic sectors.

Raising self-financing to the sectorial level is a qualitatively new stage in perfecting the economic management mechanism. It is precisely at this point that problems of converting to the new system enterprises with substantial disparities in technical equipment, nature of the production process and level of profitability (differences which existed prior to and independently of the conversion to the new management system) appear and must be solved. This brings the sectorial closer to the national economic mechanism and, to a certain extent, can be considered a "reduced diagram" of the entire economy. We shall discuss these problems in greater detail.

#### On Further Upgrading the Efficiency of the Self-Financing System and Conditions for Its Dissemination

As an inseparable component of cost accounting, self-financing is not an "autonomous segment" of the economic mechanism. Its efficiency largely derives from other "subsystems" of the latter, above all on planning procedure. Unnecessary centralization of planning, naturally, turns self-financing largely into a formality.

However, self-financing is not in the least an alternative to centralized economic management, enabling the socialist society to give priority to the global (national economic) optimum as compared to local optima, which is one of our basic advantages. However, self-financing requires forms of centralization different from those actually applied, organically combined with the autonomy of economic units. It is a question above all of the fact that in current terminology it is described as "economic methods of management." The latter include methods of managing collectives on the basis of standards and regulations uniform for the entire country or a given sector. They include prices, standards governing the distribution of cost accounting profit among incentive funds, standards governing payments from profits to the budget (union, republic, local), wage rates (salaries), amortization norms, standards governing efficiency of capital investments, interest on loans, norms of withholding foreign currency, norms governing fines, etc. There also are common rules for computing outlays and contractual and ceiling prices, and a list of mandatory computation indicators, requirements concerning bookkeeping, statistics, sequence of computing operations, parameters of foreign economic activities, customs fees and other regulations.

The standards and regulations which are set before the formulation of the local plans act as incentives for the adoption of stressed assignments by the collective. Since the economic standards are uniform, they ensure an identically objective approach to all collectives enabling them to become fully responsible for production results.

All regulators (let us particularly emphasize this) are drafted on the basis of preliminary computations for the national economy as a whole, for which reason they direct the collectives to implementing planned objectives and proportions and to observe the priority of national interests.

The new content of centralized management calls for the establishment of specific variety assignments for the labor collectives (in terms of output, capital investments which are urgently needed by society but may be unprofitable to the enterprises), in a form which synthesizes mandatory obligations and profitability, i.e., in the form of plan-orders. This form harmoniously combines centralized planning with cost accounting. Here the use of subsidies to the producer, price markups for produced items (paid by the state and not the consumer), benefits in terms of making payments to the budget and loans obtained at lower interest rates (or interest-free), extended repayment terms, higher standards of withholdings for incentive funds and higher withholdings of foreign currency, "accelerated" amortization (which essentially means a lowering of profits and payments favoring society) and others are admissible as incentives.

The main specific assignments include centralized capital investments, above all in projects which are bearers of revolutionary-type scientific and technical progress and which initially may prove less profitable. Centralized investments are irreplaceable in laying one of the main foundations of the strategy of the accelerated reorganization of the sectorial production structure and in pioneering the development of new territories. An important means of social control of capital outlays is letting the central authorities and ministries have the final say on matters related to problems of construction within the framework of self-financing of projects the value of which exceeds a certain limit. This practice, which has been essentially substantiated in party and government documents, must be linked more closely with the system of economic management methods. Thus, we believe that as the superior authorities review the decisions of enterprises, which lead to a drop (increase) in the income of the latter, the collectives are owed a compensation (additional payments).

It would be expedient, as with the case of economic standards, for the specific indicators to be issued before the primary plans have been computed, in order to exclude the obviously unnecessary "self-planning." It is only that which has proved to be impossible to anticipate should, in our view, be included in such plans after their formulation.

Variety assignments presented as plan-orders, we believe, optimally meet national economic objectives and ratios and make it possible to abandon mandatory gross (volume) production growth indicators. The use of the latter, as we know, enables the collectives artificially to enhance the results of their activities with the help of repeated addition of materialized labor. In the petroleum and chemical machine building, light industry, trade, the consumer cooperative and many other sectors, such indicators have been deleted from the list of mandatory ones.

In order to strengthen the existing self-financing mechanism, we must eliminate the quite widespread phenomenon of the use of resources formally

rather than in fact. Thus, the wage fund of the enterprise is determined, as a rule, on the basis of the level it reached the preceding year and with an increase for each percentile of increased standard net output (in some cases commodity output). This method frequently increases wages, for their starting value could be met despite an insufficient volume of output, created on the basis of reduced output norms and substandard quality, obsolescence, etc.

The increased wage fund is "legitimized" through increased production costs and reduced planned profits which, rated according to the percentage of plan implementation, does not worsen the situation of the collectives. Furthermore, the outlay approach to price setting leads to the "linking" profits to higher labor outlays. The result is that with high labor outlays wages increase rather than decrease. As a result, the wage funds are not the result of the distribution of the newly created and marketed values but are set before and independently of the results of economic management, assigned an increasing amount in advance and "refinanced" by the state which has approved both plan and prices.

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress emphasized that the time has come to make the wage funds directly dependent on enterprise income. In accordance with this stipulation, starting with 1987 Belorussian petrochemical and light industry enterprises will set up wage funds based on the net output standard and the wages of individual workers will increase when high economic management indicators have been reached with a lesser number of workers. There will be no guaranteed basic wage fund (should the results of previous years be repeated). The direct dependence of the wage fund on end results will be applied also in state trade and in consumer cooperatives. In our view, this indicates a new, a higher level of self-financing for all enterprises. The current self-financing system undermines a number of incentives in nonbasic activities of the collective, which makes it possible to collect maximal bonuses relatively easily, regardless of low basic results. Many independent bonus systems duplicate incentives for general basic activities and, we believe, should be eliminated. This applies, in particular, to the special bonus for fulfillment of contracts, which duplicates the profit indicator, and the special bonus for scientific and technical progress which is essentially evolving.

A number of enterprise activities which have retained the old economic base must be "adapted" to the self-financing mechanism. This applies, above all, to scientific subunits which are added to associations and become a decisive unit in scientific-production associations, and intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. At the present time the ties between science and production are primarily administrative. The economic mechanism of NPO is an eclectic combination of the following: 1. Basic science, financed by the budget and on the basis of contracts; 2. Applied science, design-engineering services, and experimental production facilities, financed out of the sectorial unified fund for the development of science and technology and on the basis of contracts; 3. Individual and small-series industrial output, operating on a cost accounting basis or converted to self-financing. These units are not linked by cost accounting interests; there is no synchronization of plan indicators and the flexible handling of resources and incentive funds is impossible.

Self-financing becomes purposeful and efficient when applied to scientific subdivisions as well. One of the main problems which must be solved in this connection is to set prices for scientific "output," without which its cost accounting delivery to the next unit becomes impossible. Such prices must be based on the prices in marketing new goods. They must be part of this price, consistent with the contribution made by the scientific subdivisions. This requires a compensation of amortization withholdings (which must clearly be used, considering that science is becoming a direct productive force), outlays for raw materials, materials and complementing items and the wage fund, as well as a residual profit. It would be simpler to set the prices of scientific "output" on the basis of production costs and add to them a certain standard percentage of profit, depending on the correlation between the new item in terms of consumer qualities and the highest world standards. However, this "simplicity" is less preferable, for it calls for structuring prices on the basis of production costs, making it necessary to consider the parameters of new items on the basis of profits alone. Nevertheless, it is precisely this system, which is a step forward, which will be tested at the Khimavtomatika NPO, which apply cost accounting to scientific services.

Internal cost accounting must be profoundly reorganized as well. More than 10 years ago incentive was provided for the shops for the level of utilization of capacities and production quality at the Sumy NPO. Thus, a shop which actually reaches a 90 percent capacity and which has fulfilled its plan is given a particularly high bonus. This encouraged the adoption of stressed plans by internal subunits. At the same time, the association as a whole was rated per percentage of implementation of assignments. The conflict between the mobilizing nature of the internal mechanism and the restraining external one was solved through the formulation of compromise plans which were higher than standard but lower than the potentially possible. Now, when the association has converted to self-financing, the situation has drastically changed for the better: the energy of the new cost accounting mechanism has found an outlet also through optimizing the plans of the structural subdivisions. In our view, this experience is of interest to all collectives where self-financing is introduced.

The conversion to the new economic management methods, we believe, also demand much more significant changes in internal cost accounting. It is a question of setting up in the large structural units their own production development funds, and the more extensive use within them of price estimates and profit indicators (as fractions of end prices and resulting profits), and increasing the number of individuals materially liable for damages, members of the administrative apparatus above all.

In order to convert self-financing into a streamlined and integral system, we must improve the nature of relations among economic partners. For example, if suppliers and subcontractors have made a noticeable contribution to the updating of finished products, accelerated its development or helped to reduce its cost, the respective results must be unquestionably rewarded. Some possible forms of such rewards are higher prices, price markups, and distributing among coperformers part of the incentive funds of the producers of the finished goods. Conversely, should suppliers violate contractual obligations, the extent of their penalty should be such as to compensate for

the losses incurred by the customers (including the amount of earnings they failed to show, the fines they paid for failure of deliveries to other consumers, lost bonuses based on the sectorial and territorial competition, etc.). Such compensation will ensure the observance of the principle of compensation for damages, which is being increasingly applied.

A radical restructuring is also necessary in relations with foreign partners. This applies to developing direct relations, converting world prices into domestic currency and including outlays and results of exports in overall cost accounting indicators and applying the AvtoVAZ experience in the standardized setting up of foreign exchange funds in light industry. We consider justified the setting of such funds also at enterprises which produce items which replace imported goods and also high quality items for the domestic market.

The pioneers of technical progress must be compensated for their expenditures by enterprises which use their products or repeatedly apply a mastered technology. This presumes a conversion to trade in domestic licenses. The shortage of funds could be replenished, in particular, by the sale by the respective enterprises of their shares to enterprises with available cash. Obviously, we must also study the problem of developing direct commercial crediting. Why not, for example, legitimize the right of transferring to consumer enterprises some of the cash resources of procurement enterprises for accelerated and better implementation of orders, with a subsequent subtraction of issued amounts (from procurement payments)? Why not allow purchasing enterprises term payments for their purchases should the latter be made ahead of the contractual date or in a higher amount (which would increase the income of suppliers and would enable the consumers to make temporary use of suppliers' funds as part of their working capital)?

We believe that relations with superior economic authorities must be developed differently. The conversion of associations and enterprises to self-financing within their sectors requires the establishment of centralized funds and permanent reserves. The allocated funds may be based on specific ceilings and channeled into financing general sectorial needs, the development of essentially new items, fixed subsidies to planned-loss and underprofitable associations and enterprises, etc. Withholdings for centralized funds and reserves must be based on fixed standards for all associations and enterprises in the sector other than those operating on a planned loss basis. The standards of withholding and the use of such funds should be defined on a planned basis and strictly observed, preventing subjectivism in withholding and allocating financial resources.

A new look must be taken also of the links between self-financing enterprises and the budget. We believe that they should be converted from amorphous and nonmobilizing to efficiently operating individual withholdings for taxes on profits. The distinction between these methods is that through withholdings to the budget, profits which remain after expenses have been met are distributed, whereas taxes are collected from the profits before their distribution. In other words, withholdings come from expenditures whereas taxes are levied from income, the lowering of which undermines self-financing. In the case of individual withholdings fluctuations in outlay are compensated by changes in contributions to the budget, which is the "amortizer" of their

arrhythmia. In the case of taxation, cost fluctuations are compensated by the enterprises from their income. Withholdings make it possible to rely on the state whereas taxes make it necessary to rely essentially on oneself.

The majority of enterprises in each sector are characterized by a more or less average profitability (some years, naturally, they may be higher or lower); we believe that the payments which they must make to the budget must be clearly differentiated on the basis of profitability. Enterprises in the most profitable group must make payments to the budget within a limited period of time in drastically increased amounts (after losing their "superficial" advantages, such enterprises begin to make payments to the budget on the basis of the usual moderately increased scale related to increased profitability). Under these circumstances group standards are applicable: associations and enterprises producing items of identical profitability could have identical rates. In the case of planned-loss and underprofitable enterprises, provisionally fixed subsidies must be applied, reduced on an annual basis, out of centralized ministry funds. In turn, the latter are formed out of a legally established fixed share of profits shown by the remaining enterprises (particularly and, above all, the most profitable ones; if no such enterprises exist, the funds of all sufficiently profitable enterprises are used).

Enterprises under republic and local jurisdiction (above all those producing consumer goods) pay to the state and local budgets a certain share of the value of the added product (profit and turnover tax). Enterprises under central jurisdiction, as a rule, have so far made payments to the union budget only. The exception is enterprises under all-union jurisdiction in Bryansk, Voronezh and Novosibirsk Oblasts in the RSFSR, Zaporozhe and Kiev Oblasts in the Ukraine, and in Georgia and Estonia, which have made payments to local budgets as well. This procedure generates an interest in the local authorities in improving the work of labor collectives located in their territories. The local authorities try to keep cadres, help enterprises to reassign surplus equipment and materials, organize joint production facilities and try to improve the work of transportation and the construction organizations, power supplies, etc. That is why in 1988-1989 withholdings from profits paid to local budgets will be made by all industrial enterprises under union jurisdiction. The practice of payments out of profits of enterprises under republic jurisdiction will be expanded as well. Starting with 1988 withholdings will be made for local budgets of a turnover tax in percentage of the volume of retail trade in state and cooperative stores.

We must also study the question of payment for assets under self-financing conditions. Such payments were introduced when, as a result of financing production capital by the state, the collectives tried to obtain surplus funds and their interest in the efficient utilization of resources was low. In self-financing, the function of preventing unnecessary demand for new capital is observed by the limitation of the resources earned for purposes of self-financing. The limit of investments is set strictly, in absolute terms.

Preserving payments for assets under self-financing conditions will lead to the fact that the collective, which has allocated additional funds for new investments, will be forced to withhold for payments to the budget more than collectives which have allocated relatively small amounts for such purposes,

thus increasing their consumption fund. It is clear however that, conversely, a greater interest in the development of production must be encouraged comprehensively and energetically. This may require even a special kind of benefits (such as excluding from taxation payments made to the budget of profits used for expanded reproduction).

Extracting payments for assets and for stimulating their proper return seems unnecessary. If collectives are developing on the basis of their own "pocket," as we pointed out, the high efficiency of the utilization of resources is based on their new status itself.

Furthermore, with payments for productive capital, the single payment made to the state budget as a tax on profit, is broken down into two payments: a payment for assets in percentages of their value and payments of residual profits in percentage of their total. Under these conditions the mechanism of withholdings for payments to the budget becomes more complicated. Uniform (or group) fixed standards become practically impossible to set.

At enterprises in chemical and petroleum machine building, instrument making, and petrochemistry, model industrial enterprises and enterprises in the light industry and many construction enterprises payments for capital assets have been retained. On the other hand, no such payments are demanded from the Sumy NPO and the AvtoVAZ, from the system of population consumer services, state trade enterprises and consumer cooperatives. A comparative study of efficiency indicators for each of these alternatives will help to answer the question of the future of payments for assets under the new conditions.

The self-financing mechanism is closely tied to price setting. The antioutlay mechanism will not work without radical price restructuring, however great improvements made in other areas may be.

The development of the system of self-financing in its full dimensions puts on the agenda the problem of taking more fully into consideration production outlays: increased amortization withholdings for renovation (to be started in 1988), introducing enterprise payments for occupied land, and withholdings for social consumption funds. It would be expedient to convert to a paying basis the help which industrial enterprises render to agricultural production, construction and the urban economy.

Many other problems exist in this connection. Unquestionably, other problems will appear in the future. However, this is life: each step forward opens new horizons and also poses its own problems. This is the "price" of progress without which progress is impossible.

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## NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING

### CAREFUL TRAINING, EFFICIENT EDUCATION OF CADRES

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[Article by I. Boldyrev, first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom]

[Text] The kray party organization is striving creatively to implement the key stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress on upgrading the political activeness, initiative, responsibility, competence and practicality of cadres. Today they have been entrusted with controlling the complex processes of reorganization and the accelerated increase in the pace of economic, social and spiritual progress. The outcome of the renovation of all aspects of our life decisively depends on cadres. "Contributing to the work and acting creatively and with initiative," is a requirement persistently voiced in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches and talks with the people during his visits to the Kuban and the Stavropol area.

Every manager must be well familiar not only with what must be done but also with the means of attaining set targets. He must be able to rally the collective, to enhance the interest and activeness of the people and to make extensive use of existing scientific and technical potential and progressive experience. Briefly, he must participate in political, labor and social activeness. It is extremely important in this case to protect the manager from the "freezing" influence of routine approaches and obsolete methods and to ignore the line which separates initiative from fussiness, practicality from narrow pragmatism, confidence in oneself from arrogance, and party principle-mindedness from boastfulness.

In accordance with these requirements, the party committee must always check its cadre policy against reality, its dynamics and content. It must steadily perfect the system of cadre political, moral and professional growth.

### What You Sow in Yourself You Reap in Others

The tremendous role of managers of party agencies in asserting the new style was emphasized at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We realize that success is achieved through the collective and active efforts of all party members in town and country. However, the secretaries of CPSU raykoms and gorkoms bear the main burden of daily concerns. The level of their training, organizational ability, and range and depth of outlook are always

manifested in the solution of problems. They are first secretaries precisely because they must be wherever the forward line of our work is to be found. Their character features and personal qualities as well leave their mark on the work. In working with them nothing should be ignored, for otherwise this would cost us dearly. It is from such positions that the kray CPSU Committee approaches the activities of first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms.

Today we are relying on the young party leadership without, naturally, abandoning requirements concerning its proper partnership with experienced cadres. However, this is a flexible matter which does not fit the mold of mathematical computations or a fixed quantitative correlation. The most important thing is to take into consideration the nature of our time and its features and tasks. At the present crucial stage in the development of our society we believe that priority should be given to the young, for they are the least affected by the inertia of obsolete methods and work systems and show a predilection for the new, the creative searches, and for daring solutions, more than anyone else.

V.P. Bondarev's legacy which came with his appointment as first secretary of the Izobilnenskiy CPSU Raykom was unenviable. The underestimating by the former rayon leadership of political methods and scornful attitude toward public opinion had led to the fact that all of the rayon's basic technical and economic indicators had declined; whitewashing and figure padding had blossomed and a flood of complaints was reaching the kray and central authorities. Under these circumstances, some people questioned, not without reason, whether this new young first secretary would have the necessary political and moral training, and principle- and deep party-mindedness.

As practical experience proved, he did. He was helped by his previous training in Komsomol and, particularly, party work, by the theoretical and practical knowledge he had acquired and by his ability to understand people. During his previous work he had developed a firm character and principle-mindedness. He had strengthened his persistence in attaining his objectives and his aspiration toward new and progressive features had intensified; what was equally important was that he clearly demonstrated his ability for decisive action and for taking sensible risks. Taking these qualities into consideration, the party raykom had promoted V.P. Bondarev.

With the support of the kray party committee, the raykom took a sharp turn from the path which was strewn exclusively with good intentions, laid by the former leadership, and seriously engaged in organizational and political work with the people. Exigency toward cadres was intensified. At the same time, it relied on upgrading the role of the primary party organizations and all working people in solving specific socioeconomic problems. With the help of scientists, the achievements of scientific and technical progress and progressive experience began to be applied extensively. It is no accident that today the rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses are growing rich grain crops. They have increased the pace in meat and milk production. A great deal of attention is being paid to social problems and the moral and political situation has improved.

During the long-needed frank discussions with raykom secretaries and managers of city and rayon party committees, V.P. Bondarev said that he is learning a great deal from our most experienced cadres, such as S.M. Romanko and Yu.A. Bocharnikov, respectively first secretaries of Kirovskiy and Georgiyevskiy CPSU Raykoms. Working in the kraykom apparatus, he had gotten to know them well and in his new position he established the closest possible relations with them.

Setting a personal example is, above all, what the role of what we know as the old guard, of its most outstanding representatives, is. All of them have walked the difficult road of development: they were present at each trial and error. There were doubts. However, that which they accepted they raised to the level of a principle, which became the most valuable part of their experience.

I recall how difficult it was for Yu.A. Bocharnikov. He was made first secretary of Georgiyevskiy Raykom from chairman of the Kommunisticheskiy Mayak Kolkhoz. In the farm he managed with confidence. Yet as first raykom secretary, at first he became confused: the economic methods he had properly mastered were unsuitable in party work.

However, he quickly understood the nature of the faults in the raykom's management of the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They were the consequences of excessive involvements with long-term problems or excessive concern for current matters, as a result of which the rayon's work was uneven and increasingly worsening. A balance and, with it, a long-awaited economic upsurge took place when the first secretary himself and the raykom apparatus asserted a political approach in their work, based on realism and precise calculations.

Having learned as kolkhoz chairman the hardship caused by mistrust and bureaucratic administration from above, Yu.A. Bocharnikov became one of the most zealous proponents of granting economic independence and the right to display initiative and enterprise and the possibility of working not out of fear but out of conscience. This skillful ideological and mass political work is supported by the rayon party organization. It is this on which the rayon stands. Its experience has been repeatedly summed up by the kray CPSU committee. The practice of promoting to party work managers of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes has long become established in the kray. As party leaders, they show a better understanding of their recent colleagues-economic managers. This is the main cadre unit with which the party committee works. We firmly believe in the promising nature of this trend in cadre policy. Naturally today, more thoroughly than yesterday, we must consider whether a comrade promoted to a position of party leadership will be able to make use of political methods of influence.

We took into consideration the fact that not every young secretary becomes easily accustomed to the most important quality of a party manager--the ability to be strict above all toward himself, particularly at the initial stages, when consciously or subconsciously a person expects some tolerance. I recall how Yu.V. Belyy, recently promoted to first secretary of the Novoselitskiy CPSU Raykom, requested that the rayon's production assignments

be reduced. He appeared concerned for the people who were being depressed by the constant nonfulfillment of plans, relating the solution to easier assignments. He had to be bluntly reminded of the fact that it is only great objectives that lead to great accomplishments. Without abandoning its high objectives, the rayon is firmly standing on its feet and is advancing ever further. Today its first secretary is firmly convinced of the truth that what you sow within yourself you shall reap in others.

Exigency toward oneself and, therefore, the moral right to be strictly exigent toward others, helps the party manager to identify most accurately who is who and allows him, in Lenin's words, to acquire "the ability to manage affairs" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 54, p 88), to rally the necessary people for a project and to solve the most difficult problems firmly, quickly and with unanimous consent. It is precisely this principle that is reflected in the activities of N.M. Malykhin, and V.K. Chebanov, respectively first secretaries of the Neftekumskiy and Garchevskiy party raykoms. Although they are young secretaries, they can already teach something to others--purposefulness, a specific style of management, efficiency and concern for the end results of any project, something which is so much needed today.

We consider such criteria of activity basic. Essentially, they must rest on a profound party-mindedness. As the course of reorganization of our work indicates, it is precisely this that is lacking in some managers of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms. It is important to expose this shortcoming promptly. The system of talks, extensively practiced by the kray party committee, helps us well in this case. As a rule, such talks are planned and held on a formal basis. It is self-evident that it is not the managers of the best farms that are summoned to such talks. At such meeting the kraykom secretary concentrates on the personal features of the comrades, which may hinder not only his work but that of the entire party committee. The discussion is comprehensive and frank, making it possible clearly to establish the way the manager thinks, his cultural standard, range of knowledge and civic stance. It is equally important that such discussions are entered in the personal file of the individual.

This is necessary for purposes of control which, understandably, is not a self-seeking aim for us. Of late, ever more firmly we are avoiding the use of the very word "investigation." We formulate this assignment in terms of the comprehensive study of the activities of the party committee and its leadership, for the sake of helping them. It is thus that we analyzed the work of the Budenny CPSU Gorkom. The study brought to light the insufficient competence of the party committee and its inability profoundly to study the problems of socioeconomic development and to combine the solution of long-term with current problems and critically to assess accomplishments. V.I. Mikhaylenko, A.P. Belitenko and V.S. Sosikova, gorkom secretaries, did not set examples of thoughtful study of processes. They were slow in mastering political management methods and allowed elements of showiness and glorification in their work.

Having put on the agenda of the CPSU kraykom buro the question of reorganizing the style, forms and methods of the Budenny Party Gorkom, we hoped not only

collectively to define the ways of eliminating shortcomings in its activities but also for its example to become a lesson to others, including senior personnel of the party kraykom. Deputy heads of kraykom departments and first secretaries of many CPSU gorkoms and raykoms were invited to a buro session. The discussion was specific and thorough and was very useful to those present.

We intensify lessons in party-mindedness through extensive publicity, the efficiency of which is becoming increasingly convincing. For example, cases of tactlessness toward fellow workers, threatening people and denigrating human dignity and abuse of official position shown by N.T. Vilgotkiy, former first secretary of the Kochubeyevskiy CPSU Raykom, were openly discussed at a conference with the first secretaries of party committees and at the CPSU kraykom plenum.

I.S. Stoyanov, first secretary of the Yessentuki Party Gorkom, displayed a great deal of energy and initiative in his work. However, until recently he showed a tendency to engage in bureaucratic administration, and the habit of holding lengthy conferences with or without a reason. This shortcoming was made public and was universally condemned. Results were not slow in coming.

The lack of party-mindedness in some of our workers is a sore subject. It is manifested in very durable elements of tolerance, complacency, boastfulness, superficiality and the desire to be in an exclusive position and an unrestrained desire for privileges. That is why we protect no one from criticism, even first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms who have contributed a great deal to the party. Serious remarks were addressed to all secretaries heading kraykom departments at the kray accountability and election conference and at subsequent plenums.

The sincerity and objective nature of assessments and true comradeship in mutual relations have had a most beneficial influence on our party-mindedness, which is shaped under the strictest possible observance of the Leninist principles of cadre selection, placement and upbringing, reemphasized at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In perfecting cadre work, the party kraykom proceeds from the fact that the novelty and difficulty of the problems of economic and social construction and the enhanced level of education and culture of our people call for stricter requirements toward cadres and toward their practical and ideological-moral features.

#### Drawing Strength From a Pure Source

The CPSU kraykom purposefully works on improving the quality structure of the party's kray management. All CPSU gorkom and raykom secretaries have higher training. Fifty percent of them have higher party-political training and as many are specialists in industrial or agricultural production. One-third of them are women. The aspiration properly to combine experienced with young workers has led to the fact that the average age of gorkom and raykom first secretaries has dropped from 45 to 42.

Practical experience indicates that the promotion of a person to leading party work proves to be right most frequently if he has been trained in the great school of life and its higher universities--operating a machine-tool or work

in the field. It is in a worker environment that class consciousness and feelings of collectivism develop faster and that ideological and moral foundations become stronger. Fifty percent of today's second secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms started as workers or kolkhoz members.

The CPSU kraykom has drawn up a list of workers as an active reserve for promotion to party gorkom and raykom first secretary. It includes 12-13 second secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and chairmen of city and rayon executive committees. A special 4-month training program was drafted for this group. In addition to experience in organizational and political-education work, these reserve personnel, specifically study foundations of psychology, sociology and public speech. They are taught classes in human management, so to say, through specific examples. The teachers include secretaries who head party kraykom departments, teachers at the Rostov Higher Party School and VUZs, workers in the arts and the best first secretaries of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms. Practical training is provided at the kraykom departments and party gorkoms and raykoms which have acquired interesting experience. During their training and practical work the students write papers on various topics. Such training helps them to master the skills of party work more profoundly and to broaden their outlook. The party kraykom secretariat has the possibility to study such cadres better and to test their practical qualities. The efficiency of this method is confirmed by the fact that six of the 13 people who joined the active reserve group for promotion to first CPSU gorkom and raykom secretaries in 1985 have already been promoted to such positions.

We give to many promising comrades the opportunity of working as deputy heads of party kraykom departments. In our view, this is entirely justified, for it enables them to get a proper feeling of the scale of the kray and to master the experience of the best farms and rayons. After they have become first secretaries of raykoms or gorkoms, such comrades make fruitful use of the knowledge they have gained. Quite recently A.V. Gorbachev, N.A. Barannik and I.I. Nikishin were promoted from deputy heads of kraykom departments to first secretaries, respectively, of the Arzgirskiy and Kurskiy Raykoms and Zheleznovodsk Gorkom.

This practice is important also because while working in the kraykom apparatus the reservists learn the difficult secrets of formulating a proper cadre policy and, assigned to independent work, operate with confidence. Otherwise major violations in cadre selection and placement could occur.

For example, immediately after their nomination some first secretaries make violent efforts to move people from their jobs. Such facts were recently discussed by the kraykom party secretariat. It was pointed out that over the past 5 years alone 23 people from the rayons previously headed by First Secretary I.G. Berezhnoy and Second Secretary V.I. Zelenskiy had been transferred to the local kolkhozes and sovkhoses by the Mineralovodskiy CPSU Raykom. Basically, the new cadres had either not shown any particular qualities or had even failed in their previous positions. Nor did they shine in their new positions. Furthermore, some managers had made gross errors and had abused their position. The same happened with a number of workers summoned by G.T. Kobylatskiy, first secretary of the Turkmenskiy Raykom. The kraykom plenum firmly condemned such unsuitable practices which worsen the

moral and psychological situation, trigger mistrust in local workers and bring confusion in the work system with the reserve or, in brief, harm the cause.

The substance of the cadre policy of the party committee as a whole and its work in the education of the party members may be judged by its work with the reserve. That is why it is worthwhile to consider more frequently the very sources of our cadre policy and thoroughly to study who we accept in the party and why. I recall the letter of a labor veteran, a mother, concerned with the fate of her son: "I know that in our country people are valued for their work. However, this does not occur always and everywhere. Some people are honored and promoted only because of their party membership. My son is a good specialist. However, he is neither noticed nor accepted in the party. Support from above is necessary. Yet he is unable to get in touch with the necessary people." The heart of a mother is not always objective. However, this letter contained a great deal of truth.

V.I. Lenin cautioned that the temptation of joining a ruling party is tremendous and that all sorts of rogues and careerists will inevitably aspire to join it. Today as well we come across people who, although party members, are money grubbers, show an irresponsible attitude toward the work and abuse their official position. We frequently qualify such party members as degenerates. But then is it simply a question of being a degenerate? I believe that many of them are time-servers whose only object is to have a more comfortable life. Their hypocrisy is not so easy to identify. That makes it even more important to set as a base the all-round and strict investigation of the business and moral qualities of those wishing to join CPSU ranks. As the experience of our best party organizations indicates, to this effect it would be expedient promptly to notify the party members about people preparing to join the party, so that already then such people may be tested and advised to work at a difficult or lagging sector. We have adopted as a mandatory rule that any application for party membership must be considered in advance by the party group and only at an open party meeting with the active participation of nonparty members. It is precisely thanks to the extensive discussion of the merits and shortcomings of those who want to join the party that of late the primary party organizations themselves have refused 78 people the right of becoming CPSU candidate members. The responsibility of party members who have issued recommendations for party membership to insufficiently tested and unworthy people has been increased. Here as well statistics are quite eloquent. Two years ago 226 CPSU members and last year 272 members were punished for issuing subjectively influenced recommendations. The selection of new party members is becoming increasingly thorough. This is necessary so that the party may draw fresh forces from a pure source. More than 70 percent of CPSU members accepted every year are frontranking workers and kolkhoz members, most of them young and promising comrades.

Here is what we began to notice. Increasingly, in the rural rayons people with good practical training in school, crop growers or animal husbandrymen are applying for party membership. These are alumni of school student brigades who have been working in our area for more than 30 years. Since then more than 800,000 students have undergone the labor and ideological-moral training in such brigades. Fifty percent of today's agricultural workers and 75 percent of all mechanizers began their labor career in student brigades.

After graduating from secondary school or after a year of practical training in labor Komsomol-youth collectives, of which there are more than 4,000 in the kray, the boys and girls become entitled to enroll in an agricultural VUZ with a kolkhoz or sovkhoz scholarship. After graduation, the young specialists return to their farms. Some of them join the party while still at school, and others after they have returned to their native kolkhoz or sovkhoz. Those who have proven themselves are recommended for Komsomol work and, subsequently, as chief farm specialists. It is from them that party committee secretaries are most frequently chosen and, subsequently, appointed kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers. It is only after that that the question of assigning them responsible positions within the party apparatus is raised. The CPSU kraykom directs the rayon party committees to adopting precisely this type of cadre promotion system. This has enabled us to lower the age of cadre reserves by 10-15 years. In our selection of this reserve we are not limited to the nomenclature. Relying on promising young people makes the party cadre reserve more reliable and efficient for otherwise, 2 or 3 years later, such reserves inevitably grow older.

The kray party committee pays tireless attention to leading cadres in all economic and cultural sectors. Democratic principles are developed further in their selection and placement. The opinion of labor collectives and party and social organizations is being taken more fully into consideration in personnel promotions. The city and rayon CPSU committees have adopted the firm practice of talking with economic managers, their certification, the submission of reports by leading production personnel to party members and nonparty people on their official and social activities, and the open discussion of their characteristics. The role of the primary party organizations in rating economic managers has been enhanced noticeably.

As was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, today it is no longer sufficient for management cadres simply to execute instructions. The importance of practical qualities, such as competence, a feeling for the new, initiative, daring and readiness to assume responsibility, the ability to formulate problems and ensure their solution and the ability not to lose track of the political meaning of economic management and the desire to learn how to work is becoming increasingly important.

Theoretical knowledge is very important to managers. All of them attend the kray, city and rayon courses for the party-economic aktiv. Of late we have emphasized seminars which allow a firmer mastery of the progress of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, theoretical research and practical experience in perfecting administrative and economic management and the upbringing of the people. Knowledge increases convictions and convictions intensify actions.

#### 'Troublemakers' and the Position of the Party Committee

Working in the spirit of today's requirements means critically evaluating oneself and honestly dealing with that which truly affects the Soviet people. The real manager is always distinguished by high moral qualities, such as dedication, the ability to act in the face of difficulties, readiness, if necessary, to take a risk and, having failed, not to give up but mandatorily to strive to reach his objective. Numerous examples prove that it is

precisely such managers who can draw people to themselves and lead them confidently.

Naturally, such managers are not particularly "easy" to deal with, particularly for those who love to administer, to command. Respecting the individuality of an official of any rank is important. Standardization is a very good thing, but only for technology, and simply counterindicated in political and, even more so, cadre work. The only method for maintaining business relations with such "difficult" people is cooperation. It is worth noting that particularly valuable in a manager is a feeling of comradeship, which always helps him to understand the other person and, in turn, creates the aspiration to be understood himself. This principle is encouraged by the kray party committee in the choice of economic cadres as well. The party gorkom or kraykom can and must most clearly determine the merits and weaknesses of economic cadres on the basis of the way they react to responsible, enterprising and persistent managers.

"Troublemakers" include V.F. Vrana, chairman of the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon, and O.M. Melshko, chairman of the Orlovskiy Kolkhoz, Kirovskiy Rayon, who are our best; M.N. Balamut, candidate of technical sciences and director of the Stavropol Industrial Carbon Plant, V.S. Plantonov, director of the Karachayevo-Cherkess Cement Plant, and others. Many of them have been elected members of the buro of city and rayon party committees on the recommendation of the CPSU kraykom. These people have initiated a number of good projects which are contributing to the acceleration of socioeconomic progress at an enterprise, farm, rayon or the kray as a whole. Their constructive ideas are like fresh air in the activities of party committees, increasing their interests in broad creative quests.

Strong party committees seek and support daring and energetic people. Wherever people do not rely very much on their own practical qualities, they prefer obedient and even subservient people who have no personal opinion or personal stance. That is why we try to see to it that the party committees become firmly and fully aware of the truth that public opinion, the sociopsychological climate in the collectives, the political and labor activeness of the people and their readiness to solve even the most difficult problems depend to a tremendous degree on the extent to which they train on a thought-out and responsible basis a corps of captains of industry and the political and moral values they enhance.

Today's high requirements towards economic cadres enhance the significance of efficient training of reserves. We see to it that this system ensure attaining most important objectives, such as a planned and consistent cadre policy, the discovery of gifted organizers, the profound study of the political, practical and moral qualities of the reserves, the organization of their practical activities among the masses, prompt promotions to leading positions and continuity in the work of experienced and young cadres.

Practical training is a key element in work with cadre reserves in industry. It is structured in such a way as to encompass all young managers and candidates for their position. Such training is carried out on a full-time basis for a period of 12 working days or 2 months on-the-job training. The

trainee, together with the manager, studies the work done on a daily basis and decisions are made jointly on the basis of the specific situations which arise in the course of the production process. After the training the candidate submits a reference report and the manager presents his own conclusion. The results are officially included in the files. At that time, it is also decided whether the candidate should remain member of the reserve.

Certification, which is an efficient form of identifying the possibilities of a specialist, is of invaluable help in this work.

A streamlined system in such work has been developed at the Kvant Production Association in Nevinnomysk. In addition to regular certification of young specialists, competitions are held here for filling management vacancies. Any enterprise worker under 45 may participate. The competition commission names the applicant for a vacancy and announces its opinion to the collective. Unless any objection is filed by the collective in a week, the nominee is confirmed according to a set procedure. It is thus that shop chiefs and their deputies, heads of departments and sections and senior foremen are replaced. Collective opinion makes the timely identification of capable leaders possible, while preventing wrong appointments.

This is one of the promising methods for the open choice and placement of leading cadres. Let us admit that those who fear for their fate do not welcome this system and some even try to hinder it. The party kraykom firmly struggles against such "enemies of progress" by asserting the open and public method of work with cadres.

The most efficient system for the training of economic managers in our kray was developed in agricultural production, where cadre leap-frog appointments are particularly inadmissible. They are inadmissible because everything here is related to the land and the land does not immediately prove through the crop what a person does well or poorly. The special commission set up under the party kraykom thoroughly reviews nominees for a promotion reserve by the rayons. They include party committee secretaries, chief specialists, and deputies of kolkhoz chairmen or of sovkhoz directors. Every year a group of trainees, consisting of 15 to 20 people is set up. Initially they are trained at the skill upgrading department of Stavropol Agricultural Institute.

A CPSU kraykom buro decree lists 27 basic farms in which the training takes place. During the training the reservists learn progressive methods of production organization and wages, methods of moral and material incentive, the ability to make economic analyses and realistically to assess the situation and make optimal decisions. The managers of the basic farm comprehensively study the trainee, assessing his personality and knowledge as a specialist and production organizer and determine the weak and strong aspects of his character, including negative tendencies and state of health. All of this is reflected in the final recommendation.

The training course ends with a report submitted by the trainee. The manager of the base farm submits his conclusion to the kraykom commission in which he determines whether or not the trainee is worthy of promotion. In our view,

this is an efficient system: in the past 5 years 71 of the 120 trainees have become kolkhoz chairmen or sovkhos directors.

This approach is becoming increasingly accepted and popular. In the year before last it is precisely thus that the training of main farm specialists and leading RAPO personnel and, as of last year, secondary level managers, was carried out.

Life urgently requires the addition of fresh forces. In the course of my assignments I try to advise the personnel of the apparatus to notice promising people who can carry out increasingly responsible tasks. Particularly prestigious in the kray are managers who have trained more than one worthy successor who mastered the style and work methods of his experienced tutor who has developed his own system for training kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors. Such people include N.D. Tereshchenko, CPSU Central Committee member, RSFSR supreme Soviet deputy, Hero of Socialist Labor and chairman of the Put k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz, Stepnovskiy Rayon, who has trained a number of farm managers. All of them are doing skillful work. A.A. Shumskiy, Hero of Socialist Labor, chairman of Kazminskiy Kolkhoz and M.I. Shikunov, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Chapayev, Kochubeyevskiy Rayon, A.A. Bleskov, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Sovetskiy Rayon, and others have developed good methods for training reservists. The organization of training by leading production workers at progressive farms has contributed to the important fact that many party raykoms try to solve cadre problems through their own efforts.

This is important because a homegrown manager can quickly master his work in the kolkhoz or sovkhos entrusted to him, study the collective, become accustomed to the requirements of the rayon administrative authorities and establish contacts with his partners. Most important, however, is the fact that it is thus that continuity in the work is strengthened and the best features of the rayon are developed, which greatly helps in securing frontranking positions. This method of training leading cadres yields the lowest percentage of rejects. Today we are trying to make such projects more purposeful. In the selection of deputy directors or deputy chairmen and chief specialists of leading farms, their party committees assess their potential for further advancement. This is not kept secret. The reservists know who among them are considered hopeful and this is a good incentive for work by promotion candidates.

Today such a work system with the reserve of leading cadres has already been developed in industrial production and is actively being promoted in construction and population services.

#### Independence Means Responsibility

The party's Central Committee is systematically pursuing a strategic course of comprehensive intensification of the national economy. The new administration and economic management methods, use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and progressive practice and the development of initiative are used in testing the political, practical and moral qualities of managers.

An economic experiment in converting kolkhozes and sovkhoses to total cost accounting and self-recovery is underway in the kray's agroindustrial complex. The main purpose of the experiment is, with the help of economic levers and on the basis of the comprehensive use of intensive technologies, to ensure a stable growth of crop and livestock output, grain above all. As practical experience indicates, improving planning, management and the organization of labor and wages in kolkhozes and sovkhoses are the most important and most difficult problems facing managers and specialists in agriculture. The proper way to achieve this objective, to which the CPSU kraykom firmly directs party committees and economic managers, is the comprehensive use of cost accounting and collective contracting.

Their advantages are confirmed most convincingly by the experience of Kazminskiy Kolkhoz, Kochubeyevskiy Rayon, chaired by A.A. Shumskiy, who participated in the CPSU Central Committee meeting with workers and scientists. The kolkhoz established close ties with scientists and used consolidated crop rotation and a shop management structure. All sectors were converted to total cost accounting. Crop growers and livestock breeders mastered the collective contracting system and industrial technologies. Earnings of managers and specialists are based on income.

As a result, in 4 years the kolkhoz fulfilled its 11th 5-Year Plan for state grain and milk sales. Compared with the 10th 5-Year Plan it nearly doubled its meat sales. Last year it had net earnings of more than 6 million rubles and its level profitability reached 78 percent. Incidentally, several specialists in this farm have already been assigned to independent work.

The kray party committee held a series of seminars to spread the valuable experience of the Kazminskiy people. It was studied by the first secretaries of CPSU raykoms, chairman of rayon executive committees and RAPO councils and kolkhoz and sovkhos managers. More than 250 farms have already converted to the sectorial management system, consolidated crop rotation and, based on their circumstances, are applying the Kazminskiy experience.

This experience is also being applied by the Kolkhoz imeni Chapayev, also in Kochubeyevskiy Rayon. Here specialized subunits have been set up in the shops which produce a number of items, operating on a total cost accounting and collective contracting basis. The 31 members of the mechanized detachment, managed by G.V. Nepomnyashchiy, grow sugar beets on 1,500 hectares. Their cost accounting assignment has three main indicators: volume of beet production, cost, and withholdings from the regular gross income for wages--3.2 percent. This creates a direct interest on the part of the collective to produce as much as possible and with better quality, reduce costs to a minimum, increase its gross income and thus achieve high earnings.

Last year the mechanized department averaged 471 quintals of sugar beets per hectare; its output was worth 4.2 million rubles, with a net profit of 2.6 million for the kolkhoz. Mechanizer earnings averaged 350 rubles monthly.

This progressive detachment is base facility for a kray-sponsored course in growing high sugar beet yields. It is here that the link managers of all sugar beet growing rayons in the kray have undergone their training. A

special application group was set up by the kray agroindustrial committee for the spreading of valuable experience.

Last year, with the help of all of our frontranking links and detachments, more than 12,000 managers and specialists on all levels were trained. Some 15,000 specialists are being trained this year. The systematic nature of the training, which includes practical science and special conferences and cost accounting days, helps to develop in the cadres modern economic thinking and to promote economic management methods in kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Our kray has five different soil and climatic zones, quite different from each other in terms of crop growing and animal husbandry. However, the features and resource possibilities of the rayons within these zones were not always being taken into consideration in estimating their output. This stereotyped approach was equally unacceptable to the fast growing farms.

In order to set equally stressed assignments, two indicators were introduced into the planning system: hectare of comparable plowland and output per hectare in terms of fodder units. Now, on the basis of the study of these indicators, it becomes possible to pursue the concentration and specialization of agricultural output more purposefully and to equalize the stress by rayon, kolkhoz and sovkhoz. We back their plans with material and technical resources and capital investments. This strictly standardized approach has local support. It increases the confidence of farm managers and specialists, develops their initiative and creativity and ensures a high pace of output.

Let me cite a typical example. Last year, the growth rates planned for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Blagodarnenskiy Rayon were set at 30 percent, whereas for farms such as those of Apanasenkovskiy Rayon, let us say, which had made better use of their possibilities, it was 9-11 percent only. Corresponding allocations of material, technical resources and capital investments were made. On their basis, the Blagodarnenskiy working people increased their sales of grain by 21 percent, sunflower seeds by a factor of 1.5, meat by 56 percent, wool by 18 percent and milk by 25 percent over the 5-year period and reached the average kray level of sales of agricultural commodities to the state per hectare of comparable plowland.

Today the party committees and councils of the agroindustrial associations have reasons for being stricter in demanding of farm managers and specialists to use economical production management methods and obtain high end results in all areas of economic activities on the basis of normed outlays. Work ratings have become more objective.

In order to increase control and carry out on-site organizational work, the kraykom has set up four groups which include economists from institutes and personnel from the kray agroindustrial committee. They are headed by a CPSU kraykom secretary, the head of the kraykom agriculture and food industry department, the chairman of the agroindustrial committee and his first deputy. Each group closely studies arising problems and helps on the spot in issuing cost accounting assignments and assuming contractual obligations.

Cost accounting and the collective contracting method are steadily making their way. They are also a test for managers and specialists. We are firmly getting rid of those who are either unwilling or unable to master economic management methods and who stand aside. However, the party committees assist in all possible ways those who work in the spirit of contemporary requirements and try to reach the peaks of progress; it helps them to grow professionally and promotes them to more responsible positions.

Cost accounting and the collective contract order enhance the responsibility of labor collectives and presume giving them greater autonomy. This has been repeatedly and thoroughly discussed by the party kraykom in meetings with managers of frontranking kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Today we note with satisfaction that abuse of operative-economic rights by farm managers and petty supervision of the latter have been essentially eliminated.

Lenin persistently called for granting the enterprises the right independently to solve economic problems "with maximal freedom of maneuvering and strictest possible control over actual successes in increasing output and profitable work, with most serious selection of the most outstanding and skillful administrators..." (op cit., vol 44, p 345).

The party kraykom keeps this matter under special control, for as the result of excessive regulation of activities of productions units the real opportunities for displaying a creative approach by collectives and individual performers become limited and their initiative and creativity are restrained.

However, there can be no question of any independence if the economic managers have not suitably mastered the lofty ideological and moral qualities and, as Lenin wrote, "to a high extent the ability to attract the people" (op cit., vol 45, p 351). Our economic managers actively participate in the mass political activities of party committees. Twice a year they report to the labor collective on their production and social work, and mandatorily on the steps taken to bring order and discipline and to eliminate drunkenness and alcoholism. In answer to the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, many of the kray party organizations have considered this most important area as one of the trends in controlling administrative activities.

Managers on all levels must be the embodiment of consciousness, profound order and high morality. The primary party organizations and, particularly, their secretaries, play a great role in achieving this objective. Unfortunately, we have still not gotten rid of so-called "pocket" party committee secretaries. Naturally, in this connection their dependence on economic managers in obtaining material benefits and in terms of their very status is of essential significance, for today many raykoms show a clear preference for economic managers. In turn, the party committee secretaries show a subservient attitude toward them and, instead of displaying principle-mindedness, act mindlessly and ignore obvious abuses.

A similar position held by party committee secretaries has brought about the worst possible violations of socialist legality in Petrovskiy Rayon. For many years Koplikov, the former chairman of the Zavety Iliche Kolkhoz, in that rayon, accepted substantial bribes from hired construction brigades. Kovalev

and Marchenko, respectively former chairmen of the Kolos and Zarya kolkhozes, and Zhuravlev, former chairman of the Zerkalnyye Prudy Fish Sovkhoz abused their official position. The party committee secretaries were familiar with all this but failed to take efficient measures.

It is particularly important for a manager to have the moral right to take others to task. This right is earned only by those whose behavior is spotless. Otherwise both the manager and the party organization which controls his work reveal their political and moral unsuitability. Therefore, in assessing the abuses in Petrovskiy Rayon, the kray party committee sternly corrected the behavior of I.A. Tolstoy, the raykom first secretary, who emphasized that output was the main criterion in assessing managers' activities, ignoring their political and moral qualities. The same type of behavior was displayed by the party committee secretaries at the farms.

I asked the people in one of our frontranking kolkhozes: "What do your managers earn?" They answered: "They earn what is fair and we earn according to our conscientious work." I thought that this was the best way for developing a healthy moral and psychological climate in collectives. Justice and conscience have been always particularly valued by the people, the way they have valued unity between words and actions. Today the kray party committee persistently tries to pursue such a policy.

Our cadres can solve the major problems set by the party. In following the strategic course of accelerating socioeconomic developments, the kray's working people are achieving good results. During the 11th 5-year period industrial output increased by 24.7 percent and agricultural output by 16 percent. Correspondingly, the level of labor productivity increased by 21.2 and 19 percent. The entire increase in agricultural output and about 90 percent of the industrial output were the results of higher labor productivity. These results are consistent with and, in a number of parameters, superior to the planned assignments of the previous 5-year period and to the pace set in the Food Program.

In the 12th 5-year period an increasingly characteristic feature of all labor collectives in industry is the systematic and persistent acceleration of scientific and technical progress, extending to all production sectors and units. Production policy is improving, contractual obligations are being met more strictly and savings of raw and other materials are increasing. The comprehensive "Scientific and Technical Progress in the 12th 5-Year Period" target program, approved by the kraykom buro, plays an increasingly important role in this matter. In the first 8 months of 1986 the kray's growth rates of industrial outputs averaged 4.4 percent.

The rural working people try to make better use of the economic and scientific and technical potential at their disposal, intensive economic management methods and progressive technologies. It is on this basis that sales are increasing. The main test of the year in selling grain to the state was met honorably. A total of 2,162,000 tons of grain, 96 percent of which was wheat of strong and valuable strains, went into the granaries of the state. Sales of animal husbandry products went well. In the first 8 months of this year cattle and poultry purchases rose over the respective level of 1985 by 9

percent; milk sales rose by percent and eggs by 2 percent. Cattle and poultry productivity increased. The plans for the third-quarterly sales of meat, milk and eggs and the annual plan for wool sales to the state were fulfilled ahead of schedule, on 18 September.

The financial status of kolkhozes and sovkhoses improved as the result of work based on cost accounting and self-recovery. In the first 8 months of the year they earned 1,67 billion rubles from sales, or 448 million rubles above last year's level. Available funds left to the farms reached 201 million rubles, and total loan delinquency was reduced by 35 million rubles; in most rayons all debts have been paid up. Therefore, the farms have extensive possibilities for further increases in production output and for developing the material-technical and social base of the agroindustrial complex.

The people clearly sense the changes which are taking place. Their activeness and initiative are growing. The working people in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Kirovskiy Rayon pledged to fulfill their plans for the first 2 years of the 5-year period by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the entire 5-year plan in 4.5 years. Many farms are planning to double their meat and milk production.

The land reclamation workers of Stavropolstroy launched at the initiative of filling the first section of Great Stavropol Canal 1 year ahead of schedule. They will thus greatly contribute to the creation of 1 million hectares of irrigated land in the kray by the year 2000. This is more than the currently irrigated area by a factor of more than 2. The railroad workers have decided to complete the Budennovsk-Blagodarnoy mainline, which is of vital importance to the kray, also 1 year ahead of schedule.

Such examples of a creative and responsible attitude displayed by the labor collectives to their work and the increased ability of the cadres to formulate and solve extensive problems are numerous. They instill confidence in the realistic nature of our cadre policy. We shall continue steadily to improve it in the spirit of the requirements of the reorganization and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

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PERFECTING THE ECONOMICS OF REPAIR WORK

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[Letter to the editors by M. Tumasyan, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] In my opinion, the conversion to intensive methods for increasing basic production assets requires radical improvements in repair work. Its excessive inflation, which was the result of the extensive reproduction of capital assets, the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, leads to increased costs, a slowdown in the turnover of the country's metal stock and artificial manpower shortages. The gravity of the problem is also caused by the fact that at the present time at the majority of machine building enterprises the machine repair shops and shop repair bases are equipped with morally and physically obsolete machine tools which have been used for more than 20 years in basic production. Hence their low productivity and frequent violation of repair accuracy. Repair output today is fully under the control of sectorial ministries and departments, as a result of which we see a lack of unified approach in the use repair services and their development.

At the same time, a natural process of increased division among the functions in repair services as a separate production line is taking place. The proper organization of this work greatly determines the results of the work in industry as a whole. We believe that a number of problems which demand an urgent solution exist here. For example, today the time needed for planned repairs is frequently set not according to the actual length of work of the equipment but on the basis of calendar periods. This greatly lowers the efficiency of repair output, for it leads to a substantial cost overrun of all types of resources. Other major shortcomings in the repair services are the subjective nature of assessments of the technological status of the equipment. At the present time machine-tool defects are determined as though by intuition, in which the repair worker plays a determining role. Frequently entire assemblies and parts of a complex machine-tool are dismantled for petty reasons and huge amounts of funds, manpower and time are lost. The main trend in solving this problem is, unquestionably, the use of a technical diagnosis system in production (as justifiably discussed by A. Gorelik, see KOMMUNIST No 11, 1986), which leads in the future to a kind of dialectical "elimination" of repairs replaced by an efficiently organized system of technical servicing of machine tools and equipment. This is an objective trend. However, it is precisely a clear regulation governing problems of technical services that is

absent in the current "Uniform System of Planned-Preventive Repairs and Rational Exploitation of Technological Equipment in Machine Building Enterprises" (PPR system). Its main shortcoming is that it poorly directs the repair services of enterprises toward upgrading the role of interrepair equipment servicing, for the number of capital and average repairs of technological equipment remains essentially unlimited. As a result, in 1964 11-12 percent of technological equipment was subjected to capital repairs; medium repairs accounted for 20-25 percent. In 1984 the respective figures were 16-22 and 30-35 percent. Outlays for such repairs account for 70 percent of total outlays for current repairs and slightly over 30 percent remains for all other reviews and checkups. As a result, as a rule, servicing between repairs is not conducted to the fullest extent and is essentially concentrated on eliminating rather than preventing machine tool and equipment breakdowns.

I believe that further improvements of the PPR system should be aimed at intensifying the role of technical servicing of the equipment. This is supported by global practice. Thus, labor intensiveness in caring for the equipment accounts for up to 70 percent of all labor outlays in repair work in the United States, the FRG and Japan.

The best organization of the utilization of the equipment is one in which repairs have been reduced to a minimum and the center of gravity has been shifted to preventive measures and high servicing standards, ensuring a reduction in all types of idling and an overall reduction in outlays in the operation of technical facilities.

The availability of spare parts procured on a centralized basis plays an important role in the economics of enterprise repair output. Unfortunately, more than 60 percent of the spare parts are manufactured by the machine building plants themselves, using most primitive methods, at triple the cost. Hence the high cost of repair work as a whole. Furthermore, wholesale stores selling spare parts are not operating quite efficiently. For example, in a number of plants making drums for 6N82, 6N83 and other models of milling machine-tools is quite difficult for this requires special equipment. In order to obtain such equipment through the Zapchast wholesale trade store it becomes necessary sometimes to acquire, in addition to each drum, a set of parts which the plant does not need, costing between 300 and 400 rubles, whereas a drum costs no more than 5-6 rubles. Similar examples are found at virtually all machine building enterprises. Consequently, despite the tremendous scarcity of spare parts, the plants acquire above-norm stocks of various parts and assemblies. Obviously, the organizations which draft the respective classifications for the production of spare parts for various machine-tools should solve this problem.

No drastic increase in the production of spare parts is possible without the development of economic incentives. At the present time spare parts are considered unprofitable production, and many procurement plants would rather pay a fine than produce them. The point is that the cost of the spare parts, compared to the price of new equipment, is low, for the price of the finished product includes the cost of complementing assemblies and parts obtained on a cooperative basis. Consequently, in order to solve this problem steps must be taken to perfect price setting.

The practical experience of machine building enterprises in a number of foreign countries is of definite interest. Here consumers are supplied with all parts of a piece of equipment for 10-12 years after its production. This is the result of a price policy according to which the price of spare parts is higher than similar assemblies and parts used in complementing the new machines. Thus, in the United States the price of a set of spare parts for power equipment is 20 percent higher than their cost in the finished item. In Hungary profits from the sale of spare parts are higher by a factor of 3-10 compared to the basic output of machine building enterprises.

The organization of equipment repairs in the United States is based on the centralized production of spare parts and assemblies by the machine-tool building plants. The variety and quantity of spare parts for repairs is determined by special scientific research departments in the plants and the delivery of any part (assembly) is guaranteed for a number of years after the production of the machine-tool. In the metal processing industry the volume of output of spare parts is the equivalent of 17 percent of the entire sectorial output. Thanks to the guaranteed availability of replacement machine units and parts in the necessary amount and variety, the American companies are able to repair their equipment on a highly efficient basis. It would be pertinent to note that this repair method, known as machine unit-assembly, was developed in our industry as early as the 1940s (at the Leningrad Metallurgical Plant). However, to this day it is used only at the large enterprises of the machine building sector. Clearly, the time has come to undertake its application on a planned basis. The respective subdivisions of each ministry should become concerned with this.

The skill of the repair personnel is of great importance in upgrading the efficiency of enterprise repairs. Practical experience indicates that such personnel should consist essentially of the most skilled workers with no less than 2-3 years of vocational training and 5 years of practical experience in basic production. Such a system of training cadres for repair work is practiced at the Volga Automotive Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR and is considered promising in domestic machine building.

The efficiency of the work in repair output, cadre stability and their increased skills are directly related to wage forms and systems.

The study of the norms and systems of wages of workers in repair-machine shops indicate that piece rate payments predominates. They are applied in the case of more than 65 percent of the workers, whereas the hourly-bonus system is applied to only 35 percent. Yet practical experience indicates that in terms of its nature the piece-rate wage system does not stimulate labor and material savings. It leads to the overexpenditure of spare parts and electric power. Furthermore, it creates artificially increased volumes of repairs, which increases their cost and adversely affects economy in basic production.

In this case a specific solution of the problems is attained by converting to collective wages with the use of standard-piece rate payments in which not the actual but the standardized volume of repair operations is considered as a base. This means that on the basis of descriptions of the defects the standardized assignment is set regulating the amount of work and its length,

the standard level of labor and material outlays, the number of workers and standard wages. If a repair brigade can implement an assignment within the proper time and on the proper quality level with fewer people, the wage fund is not amended on the basis of the actual number of workers. This leads to a substantial increase in material incentives. The standard piece rate system is successfully applied at the Leningrad Metals Plant, the Railroad Cars Manufacturing Plant imeni Ye.I. Yegorov, the Kharkov Turbine Plant, the Minsk Tractors Plant, the Kiev Krasnyy Ekskavator Plant and others.

Today ways have been found to solve many individual problems of the economics of repair output. Some achievements have been scored as well. Nevertheless, the scale and gravity of the problems in this case require new major efforts. I believe that the question of developing a national program for the development of small repair work enterprises is on the agenda. This would determine not only the fundamental principles of a uniform technical policy but also the trends toward improving management in this important economic area.

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## PHOSPHORUS AND CROPS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 57-58

[Letter to the editors by V. Utochkin, director of the Dolgoprudnyy Agrochemical Experimental Station imeni Akademik D.N. Pryanishnikov]

[Text] In my opinion, one of the essential reasons for low yields in the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR is the underestimating of phosphorite meal, which is a greatly needed fertilizer. Let me emphasize in this connection that the expediency of the extensive use of phosphorites in agriculture has been repeatedly pointed out by noted scientists, such as A.N. Engelgardt, D.N. Pryanishnikov and A.N. Lebedyantsev.

Extensive practical experience at the Dolgoprudnyy and Shatilovskaya Agrochemical Experimental Stations (30-45 years) and the Gorkiy Agricultural Institute (10 years) have confirmed that the application of phosphorite meal, compared to superphosphate, has increased crops by nearly 90 percent on soddy-podzolic soil, 99 percent on leached chernozem and 80-120 percent on serozemic forest soil. These experiments also convincingly proved that phosphorite meal improved the phosphate regime of the soil, contributed to increasing the humus content, reduced acidity (which is exceptionally important) and improved virtually all agrochemical soil indicators. Gross income per ruble of outlays averaged 1.7-7.1 rubles.

Today the situation is such that even in the immediate future the need for phosphorus will not be entirely satisfied with water-soluble phosphorus fertilizers. This delays the process of improving the phosphate system in the soil and significantly lowers the efficiency of chemical fertilizers, nitrogen in particular. That is why we deem it necessary drastically to increase the production and use of phosphorite meal, which is most efficient on more acid soils.

The Nonchernozem Zone has huge phosphorite deposits. Their location is such that transportation costs would be relatively low. According to our estimates, in order to raise the phosphorus content on cultivated areas, drained and irrigated land, hay fields and grazing areas to the required level, about 25 million tons of the nutritive substance would be required, or no more than 6 percent of the available phosphorite deposits in the area.

What is required to apply phosphorite meal in this favorable area? For 11 years (1975-1985) phosphorite has been applied on an area in excess of 11 million hectares. Naturally, this is very little. Suffice it to say that the farmland requiring such application totals 33 million hectares. At the present rate of application, the completion of this project in the Nonchernozem would take a full 60 years.

We must eliminate the existing condescending attitude toward phosphorite meal as a second rate and second grade fertilizer. Let us note in this connection that the myth of the incalculable reserves of phosphate raw materials and the unrealistic view on the possibilities of the apatite deposits in the Kola Peninsula are erroneous, in our view, and so is the policy in determining the variety of phosphorite fertilizers, demands for supplying agriculture with mandatorily water-soluble forms and mixed highly concentrated fertilizers, all of which have resulted in glaring disproportions. In terms of the production of chemical fertilizers, the ministry has not met and will obviously be unable to meet in the immediate future the need of the agroindustrial complex for phosphorus exclusively with water-soluble and mixed fertilizers.

In its time, an ultimatum was issued to the Ministry of Agriculture: either exclude the use of phosphorite meal as part of phosphorus fertilizers and use it in reclamation agents or else reduce its production. As a result, the production and use of phosphorite meal has been dropping since 1975. This situation must be corrected.

We know that in the United States the same problem was solved precisely with the use of high amounts of phosphorite meal. Based on the system of Professor Hopkins, in the course of four-field two or three crop rotations 22.5 quintals of 20 percent phosphorite meal per hectare were applied, after which the dose of application per crop rotation was reduced by one-half.

The situation which developed in our country was such that in the course of trying to standardize chemical fertilizers and to increase the share of nutritive substances in them, first of all, we did not attain the necessary volumes of output of water-soluble forms of phosphorus and mixed fertilizers. Secondly, time was lost in improving the phosphate regime of the soils with the help of phosphorites.

Unquestionably, superphosphate and mixed fertilizers are more standardized in their application compared to phosphorites. However, we must not forget that their production requires millions of tons of expensive acids and tremendous outlays of energy, whereas phosphorite meal is obtained through simple grinding and, as we noted, applied on Nonchernozem soils, is almost as good as the water-soluble phosphorus fertilizers.

Improvements in the use of phosphates and in an entire series of other agrochemical indicators in the soils of the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR, upgrading the efficiency of fertilizers and obtaining higher yields can, we believe, be achieved by drastically increasing the use of phosphorite meal, on the basis of operating mines and local nonindustrial phosphorite deposits, the use of which is, in our view an urgent matter.

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AFTER PUBLICATION OF KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) p 58

[Report by V. Astakhov, chief of the Main Administration for the Production of Equipment for the Food Industry]

[Text] The following answer by the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances to the critical address by D. Artsimenya, delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress and chairman of the executive committee of the Grodno Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies (KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1986) was received:

"The question of the timely and qualitative planning of assignments relative to the volume of paid consumer services, raised in Comrade Artsimenya's article 'More Concern for the Person,' is topical. On 12 May 1986 the Belorustorgmash Association issued the Grodno Trade Machine Building Plant, under its jurisdiction, an annual assignment for paid services totaling 55,000 rubles.

"Assignments for 1987 and subsequent years within the 5-year period will be issued to the plant next September."

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## DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES

### SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 59-70

[Article by S. Shatalin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] KOMMUNIST No 13 carried an article by Academician T. Zaslavskaya in which a number of unstudied debatable problems of interaction between the human factor in production and social policy were analyzed. The following article by S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, is a continuation of this discussion.

By formulating the concept of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and profoundly and comprehensively analyzing its determining factors and the ways and means of its constructive implementation, the CPSU made a major creative contribution to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist social thinking and the practice of communist building. The party indicated the ever growing reciprocal influence in contemporary society among economic, social, ecological and scientific and technical factors of a dialectical, a conflicting nature. This particularly applies to the interaction among economic and social factors of national economic development (somewhat arbitrarily, let us classify ecological factors among the latter), an interaction which is manifested in different ways in time.

We shall consider the influence on economic growth of processes of upgrading the people's well-being, perfecting the system of income distribution in the socialist society, creating a powerful motivational mechanism, which would stimulate all workers to achieve maximal economic efficiency by really involving the working people in managing public property and participating in making strategic planning and economic decisions on the allocation of public resources on all levels of the national economic hierarchy.

#### Reasons for Negative Trends and Some Conclusions

In recent years, as was pointed at the 27th Congress, the process of economic growth in our country and, consequently, the living standard of the population, did not develop quite favorably. The growth rates of the national income used for consumption and accumulation showed a clear declining trend. Between 1961 and 1965 the average annual growth rate of the physical volume of

the national income was 5.7 percent; it was 7.2 percent in 1966-1970, 5.1 percent in 1971-1975, 3.8 percent in 1976-1980 and 3.1 percent in 1981-1985. The growth rates of public labor productivity, computed on the basis of the physical volume of the produced national income, declined steadily (after 1970).

The average annual growth rate of per capita real income also declined. This is the most comprehensive indicator reflecting the dynamics of the population's living standard: it was 3.6 percent for 1961-1965, 5.9 percent for 1966-1970, 4.4 percent for 1971-1975, 3.4 percent for 1976-1980, and 2.1 percent for 1981-1985. Therefore, during the 11th 5-year period the average annual growth rates of the national income in physical terms and the real per capita income were quite low, as were other indicators.

The party has already assessed these negative trends. What were their main reasons?

The reduced opportunities for extensive economic growth (above all through natural and manpower resources), which were the result of objective circumstances, not only failed to be compensated but the lowering of the average annual growth rates of the overall efficiency in the utilization of production resources intensified. According to our computations they were 2 percent for 1971-1975, 1 percent for 1976-1980 and 0.6 percent for 1981-1985. This also led to the fact that the share of intensive factors in the country's economic growth showed no rising trend: it was 43 percent in 1971-1975, 28 percent in 1976-1980 and 22 percent in 1981-1985 (figures computed together with Candidate of Economic Sciences V.G. Grebennikov).

The "gross output" economic mechanism and errors in the structural policy of allocation of resources and, in particular, the obviously low rates of investments in machine building, had a most adverse effect on lowering the growth rates of the overall efficiency of utilization of production resources; this drastically slowed down the conservation of fuel and energy resources and metal in the national economy. A similar role was played by the lagging in the development of the production and social infrastructure, particularly in the countryside, where commodity losses (along all stages of their way to the consumer) accounted for nearly 20 percent.

The weakening of the material incentive system for workers, the growth of equalization trends in wages and their averaging were major hindrances on the way to the country's socioeconomic progress. The lack of balance in the consumer sector of the economy led to the growth of speculations, corruption, depreciation of the ruble, intensification of inflationary processes and growth of unearned population income. All of this steadily depreciated the social and moral prestige of honest labor aimed at the good of the entire society. It misshaped the socialist way of life and frequently grossly violated socialist social justice.

The essentially residual principle of allocation of resources for the development of the social area in the national economy, which was sharply condemned in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, caused great harm to the rates of economic growth, to the increased total efficiency of public

production and the solution of a number of major social problems in the development of our society. The share of capital investments directed into the construction of projects for nonindustrial purposes was 27.7 percent of the overall volume of capital investments in 1985, or nearly 8 percent lower than in 1960. The wages of workers employed in the nonproduction sectors increased during that period at a slower pace than in the production sectors and in the national economy as a whole.

Two erroneous methodical principles were the main reasons for such an inefficient structural policy in the allocation of public resources. First, the allocation of resources for the development of the social sphere was aimed at solving purely social problems, frequently in terms of social welfare, and was viewed as direct subtracting from the country's economic growth rates. Secondly, the extremely metaphysical and still unsurmounted opinion existed, according to which the urgency of solving social problems diminishes with the improvement of the population's living standards. This was a direct rejection of the dialectical approach to the study and management of the development of socioeconomic processes in our society, for the needs of the population themselves steadily grow quantitatively and qualitatively. They become more complex and lead to the steady appearance of new problems. In other words, what takes place, as Lenin pointed out, is an objective process of steady increase in needs.

At the same time, we must bear in mind the greatly adverse effect of the arms race imposed upon us by the Western capitalist countries on the pace of economic growth of the USSR.

All of this can be summed up by citing M.S. Gorbachev: "The main thing is that we failed to provide a timely political assessment of changes in the economic situation. We failed to realize the entire gravity and urgency of converting the economy to intensive development methods and the active utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the national economy. Appeals and discussions on this account were numerous, but action was virtually at a standstill."

These are bitter but just words from which constructive economic conclusions must be drawn. The concept of the country's accelerated socioeconomic development is based on the fact that between 1986 and the year 2000 the average annual growth rates of the national income in physical terms, used for consumption and accumulation, should be approximately 4.7 percent; they should be 4.1 percent during the 12th 5-year period and 5 percent during the period between 1991 and the year 2000. In other words, we must achieve an "acceleration of the acceleration" of the country's socioeconomic development.

According to our computations, in order to ensure the planned rates of economic growth, the average annual growth rates of the overall efficiency of utilization of production resources must reach in the near future 3-5 percent; the share of intensive factors in the growth of the national income must reach 65-75 percent. During the 12th 5-year period the increased overall resource efficiency must average some 2 percent and the share of intensive factors, approximately 50 percent. In order objectively to assess the tremendous nature and exception difficulty of the solution of this problem, which will

largely determine the fate of world socialism, we must take at least the following factors into consideration:

We cannot rely on the accelerated pace of adding further material, manpower and natural resources to public production or on any somewhat favorable improvements in the situation on the world fuel- power- and mineral-raw material resource market. The only real alternative here is a comprehensive conservation of such resources by drastically improving structural and, above all, investment policy and a radical reform of the economic mechanism;

The social and ecological pressure on the economy will increase in the future. The share of industrial capital investments appropriated for the preserving and improving the condition of the environment, the creation of modern comfortable job surroundings, the elimination of manual labor, particularly unskilled, heavy and frequently harmful to the health, must be objectively increased during the 12th 5-Year Plan and the period until the year 2000 rather than relying on the growth of production capacities. From the long-term viewpoint, however, all of this must be considered also as a real factor in upgrading the efficiency of utilization of the material, manpower and natural resources of society and, consequently, the pace of economic growth;

By definition, the planned growth rates of the physical volume of the national income and the population's living standards do not include an inflationary component. For this reason, the pace of economic growth must be intensified compared to the past. We must also take into consideration that the absolute reduction in the production of alcoholic beverages will have an officially "adverse" effect on the planned rates of economic development. What matter most in this case, however, are the favorable economic prospects: a drastic drop in drunkenness which, in addition to everything else, is a direct way leading to higher efficiency in the utilization of all production resources, reducing waste and upgrading production quality;

The aging of our country's population and the objective need to increase the average pension will require a considerable increase in the funds invested in social security. This will demand of the party and the government steps to increase the earnings of some low-income families.

Without discussing in greater detail the problems involved in perfecting resource and investment policy and the entire set of problems related to the implementation of a radical reform of the economic mechanism, let us consider some crucial problems of social policy which, in addition to their current social relevance, must become a powerful factor in the efficient acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, based on scientific and technical progress and the drastic enhancement in the level of efficiency of socialist public production. That is why we must objectively consider the problems which were sharply and clearly raised by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya in her article (KOMMUNIST, No 13).

Today, in our view, socialism must urgently solve a basic global historical problem: the creation of a powerful and comprehensive motivational mechanism for the economically efficient utilization of production resources. It must be stronger than the one created by the capitalist West in the course of the

centuries. It is only on this basis that socialism will be able to solve its main final problem: the creation of the highest level of people's well-being in the world and ensuring the truly comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual and the most attractive socialist way of life as an objective of global socioeconomic and moral-ethical progress.

The motivational mechanism which stimulates the workers to engage in highly efficient labor is an exceptionally vast and comprehensive concept. We shall discuss only what we take as its crucial aspects.

#### On the Two Types of Real Income

We must create within the shortest possible time an efficient and flexible system for worker material incentive, inseparably linking wages with real contribution to public production, with no limitations in the scale of wage differentiations. The brigade-collective forms of labor organization and wages, applied within the framework of the radical economic reform, and the drastic broadening of economic rights and responsibilities of production associations and enterprises in terms of handling resources and making planning and economic decisions, including in the area of wages, must play a special role in the efficient solution of this problem. The socialist state has sufficiently powerful socioeconomic tools so that the differentiation among workers, consistent with the real differences in their labor contribution, will not lead to social tension. Furthermore, wages based on real results, as was emphasized at the 27th Congress, is one of the main prerequisites of socialist social justice.

As we know, the process of raising teachers' salaries, which was initiated during the 11th 5-year period, is currently nearing completion. During the 12th 5-year period the wages of personnel in health care, of some worker categories in culture and in the higher schools will be increased. The interests of accelerated socioeconomic development require that in the future the average wage in the leading sectors of the nonproduction sphere equal that in material production. In our view, this is one of the basic problems of economic policy. Let us reemphasize that approaching this one-sidedly, merely from the position of developing material production, without relating it to the social area would be a serious mistake.

However, the implementation of the principle of payment according to labor does not in itself solve the problem of developing an efficient system for worker material incentive. Socialism must also develop a mechanism not simply for ensuring the full employment of the population (this is an already crossed stage in extensive development) but of socially and economically efficient and rational full employment. The principles of socialism are not those of philanthropy, which automatically guarantee to everyone a job unrelated to the ability to perform it. The individual must struggle every day economically to keep the job he considers suitable. In our view, we must already now seriously consider the creation of a hierarchically organized national system for cadre training and retraining of personnel released from public production as a result of scientific and technical progress and the structural and technological shifts in the economy and changes in demand for certain skills. Such a system could be financed by making associations, enterprises and

organizations pay for the use of manpower. Economists have written about this for a number of years and we believe that there are no reasons whatsoever not to implement it in the course of the radical economic reform. Enterprises, production associations and organizations must be granted significantly broader rights in planning the number of workers they employ and setting up a wage fund and determining its average level, naturally, within the framework of centralized control over such processes. A number of real problems which objectively arise in this connection with the implementation of the principle of rational employment of the population were considered by T.I. Zaslavskaya in her article, the main conclusion of which we fully support.

It is high time to ensure the optimal combination of wages based on labor and public consumption funds. They are the two basic types of income in the socialist society. The historical trend is such that payments and benefits from public consumption funds will be growing steadily. During the 12th 5-year period they will increase by 25 percent; they will approximately double between 1986 and the year 2000.

In a socialist society, wages are the driving mechanism in the distribution of income and, correspondingly, material benefits and services. Wages based on labor are an objective economic law of socialism, the violation of which, as was emphasized at the 27th Congress, has caused and is continuing to cause great harm to the Soviet economy. The main purpose of income from labor is to encourage the growth of public production and enhance the efficient utilization of production resources. It is only on this basis that a high and stable increase in the living standard of the population can be achieved. However, it is precisely wages which provide the basic economic incentive in the distribution system.

Public consumption funds go directly to the members of the socialist society regardless of the quantity and quality of their work, although the amount of the pension (and, partially, the scholarship) is determined by past or future labor contribution. This enables us to state that essentially they perform a socially guaranteed function of distribution of income under socialism. However, as we know, public consumption funds are not a homogeneous socioeconomic category. Some of them are used for purposes of social insurance (pensions, aid, scholarships); another part goes to satisfy the priority social needs of the members of the socialist society-- medical services, education, some services provided by cultural institutions, housing subsidies, etc. Granting such benefits and services to all members of society for free or at low cost means that society supervises such needs. It does not consider possible their satisfaction to be a prerogative of individual choices, based on the level of earnings. This way a guaranteed accessibility of a material base for the harmonious development of man is extended to all members of society. This is also "advantageous" to the development of socialist society as a whole.

Therefore, wages based on labor and public consumption funds dialectically supplement each other. They enable us, as was emphasized at the congress, to make full use of one of the main principles of socialism: that of combining the economic efficiency of the utilization of resources with social socialist justice.

Naturally, the line which separates the economic from the social functions of income distribution is determined by a number of circumstances, such as the level of economic development of the society, its wealth, the nature of population requirements and preferences, the type of work and the entire value system of socialism. However, its objective determination emphasizes the need, at each step in the country's socioeconomic development, of strictly demarcating between the role of the wage and public consumption funds and the economic and social functions of distribution relations in the pursuit of an efficient socioeconomic policy. It is on the basis of such a distinction that we determine the range of problems of socioeconomic development which can be solved most efficiently through the wage system and by solving the problems requiring the efficient utilization of public consumption funds.

Confusing the functions of distribution relations can only result in social and economic costs. They appear when efforts are made to solve purely social problems on the basis of wages while public consumption funds are assigned the extraneous function of providing material incentive to the workers. Typical manifestations of this trend are equalization of wages, and so on, which extremely distort the main principle of socialist distribution according to labor. Naturally, in this case the economic conditions for stimulating the efficient utilization of production resources drastically worsen and the principle of socialist social justice is violated.

Equally negative are the consequences resulting from the intensification of departmental components of public consumption funds and the aspiration to develop a more efficient system for worker material incentive based on departmental public consumption funds.

Naturally, it is not a question of denying in general the possibility of using the sociocultural funds of production associations and enterprises for material incentive, aimed at upgrading public production efficiency and accelerating scientific and technical progress, i.e., solving purely economic problems. However, the use of this possibility presumes major theoretical work, without which shortcuts in socioeconomic policy become inevitable.

Wages express economic relations among society, labor collectives and workers in public production, characterizing the organic dependence of the size of the wage on the results of activities. Public consumption funds are socioproduction relations existing between the socialist society and its members. They characterize income distribution regardless of the quantity and quality of the labor invested by the workers.

For that reason, essentially the current sociocultural funds of production associations and enterprises are not public consumption funds in the political economic sense, although they resemble them superficially. The sociocultural funds, which come out of enterprise profits, are essentially a variety of labor income received for specific purposes, in kind. It is only as such that they resemble public consumption funds (or, more accurately stated, the part of said funds consisting of goods and services which are either free or low-priced). The sociocultural funds are provided not to the members of the socialist society but to the personnel of associations and enterprises, who earn them through their own economic efforts. Public consumption funds, as we

pointed out, provide social guarantees and social standards of satisfaction of the needs of all members of the socialist society, considered by that society as most significant and proceeding from the needs for the development of the individual and of public progress as a whole. Production associations and enterprises may, at the expense of their sociocultural funds, provide workers, who have earned this right through their shock labor, fuller satisfaction of their needs for medical services, education, culture, etc., compared to what society guarantees to all its members, wherever they live or whatever their job. In the future, in our view, such funds must be increasingly used to improve the conditions and nature of labor and the creation of modern comfortable work places.

Let us acknowledge that in this area a number of unsolved problems remain. For example, why should people who do good work at poorly operating enterprises suffer? What to do when medium-sized and small enterprises are short of the necessary resources for setting up adequate sociocultural funds? Obviously, forms such as the joint utilization of sociocultural funds of enterprises and associations, granting additional benefits to workers who work well, etc., are promising. Such problems require thorough theoretical interpretation and must be given a socially equitable practical solution.

#### Paying Attention to All Aspects of the Motivational Mechanism

Labor as such, i.e., its conditions, nature, meaning, presence of elements of creativity and attractiveness and possibility for human self-assertion, is the most important source of interest in highly skilled and highly productive toil. Today, however, millions of workers are still engaged in manual, hard and unskilled labor. The number of uncomfortable work places at individual enterprises, although relatively diminishing, is even growing in absolute terms. This leads to major social and economic losses, for with a contemporary living standard of the Soviet people, and an objectively developed system of their socioeconomic and moral and ethical needs, our obvious unfinished work in the area of such an incentive form as "labor incentive through labor," is frequently impossible to compensate with any type of salary additions. The party has currently taken a firm course toward radically changing the conditions and nature of labor in the country's national economy. The plan calls for lowering the share of people engaged in manual labor in the production area to the 15-20 percent level by the year 2000. This course (particularly from the long-range viewpoint) is not only beneficial for the purely social gains of socialism but also has a most beneficial influence on maintaining high and stable rates of the country's economic growth.

Socialism and the ecological parameters of jobs must become fully consistent with modern requirements, violations of which should not be allowed under any circumstances. However, frequently to this day priority is given to the technical and economic indicators of new projects. Essentially, this means extending the residual principle in allocating resources for the development of the social area in the national economy, which was condemned by the congress. Hasty efforts to achieve savings at its expense adversely affect the level of economic efficiency of the utilization of production facilities in the final account and, consequently, the pace of economic growth.

The creation of a powerful motivational mechanism requires a comprehensively developed system of social guarantees, above all based on increasing the efficiency of the utilization of public consumption funds. In this case a direct connection exists between them and economic efficiency and growth. With the reliable support of a system for the satisfaction of vitally important needs out of public consumption funds, the socialist society can use its economic levers for worker material incentive more decisively; it can profoundly differentiate wages on the basis of the real labor contribution, without causing any harm to truly socialist social justice.

Unquestionably, one of the most important conditions for the development of a highly efficient mechanism for stimulating highly productive labor by workers on all levels is ensuring the real participation of the working people in handling socialist property, resource distribution and setting wage levels. It is only on the basis of the creation of a system of truly proprietary motivations that we can eliminate the very typical situation involving the objects of national and cooperative socialist property, in which "too many cooks spoil the broth," and the widespread phenomenon of social apathy and indifference. For the sake of objectivity we must point out that socialism is merely beginning to create the type of self-governing system, which is largely the purpose of the radical economic reform and the development of the entire complex process of socialist property relations. For it is precisely in this area that socialism enjoys the main historical advantage on the use of which we must direct all our efforts. The 27th Congress formulated the essential task of determining the potential of ownership by the whole people and making extensive use of cooperated and individual-labor activities of the working people in the production of consumer goods and services, organically including them in the social system of socialist economic management. We must point out, however, that in practice this is being applied extremely slowly, although it is obvious that it promises both improvements in the consumer sector of the economy and the creation of more flexible mechanisms in population employment and economic use of resources practically inaccessible in large-scale production.

As indicated by long practical experience, we cannot develop an efficient system for worker material incentive and drastically enhance the efficiency of resource utilization without solving the problem of overall and structural balancing of the country's consumer sector. The current unsatisfactory solvent demand is assessed by economists as being in the range of several tens of billions of rubles; the honestly earned ruble occasionally turns out to have no commodity backing. Naturally, this undermines the material incentives for increasing labor productivity. The party firmly intends radically to correct the situation in this area within the shortest possible time. This is the purpose of the USSR Food Program and the Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and Services in 1986-2000 and all other steps taken to upgrade the living standard of the Soviet people.

The main way in this case is to intensify the growth rates of output of consumer goods and paid services and drastically to improve their quality and expand their variety. However, this is only part of the problem. We need a strict planned control over the growth of population monetary income, so that its increase can take place only with the growth of public labor productivity

and the availability of commodities and services. The disproportions which appeared here were largely the consequence of the fact that in the past such requirements were frequently simply ignored, which led to increased inflationary trends in our economy. Here as well we agree with T.I. Zaslavskaya and other economists: the time has long come to solve the problem of radically streamlining retail prices of material consumer goods and rates of paid services provided to the population by nonindustrial sectors. The current system of retail prices has become quite obsolete and inconsistent with contemporary production conditions and with supply of and demand for commodities and services. This particularly applies to the production and sale of meat products, which require heavy government subsidies which, as computations indicate, eventually essentially benefit the relatively higher paid population strata. In our view, raising the prices of meat products--unquestionably, fully compensated for population groups, particularly low-income ones--would substantially improve the situation on the consumer market and create a better substantiated demand for various commodities and normal economic management conditions for producers. It is important to emphasize that raising prices must not be a purely financial-consumer static act which would eliminate from consumption a number of benefits for "inefficient" consumers with low incomes and would not affect the producers of scarce goods and services. In our view, it would be expedient to see to it that some of the income which is generated as a result of higher retail prices go to producers of commodities and services and contribute to widening bottlenecks. In other words, an increased share of capital investments would be controlled by the mechanism of socialist commodity-monetary relations. A possible appearance of "monopoly effects" in this case could be compensated with a planned taxation policy.

Taking into consideration the present economic situation, the comprehensive reform of retail prices must be accomplished on the basis of raising their average level. This will require thorough thought-out mechanisms for compensating for such an increase groups in the different income levels. Current income can be compensated to the fullest extent. However, it is impossible avoid a certain depreciation of population savings. As T.I. Zaslavskaya accurately notes, a price reform would also naturally require a substantial streamlining of population income, its redistribution, etc. Streamlining the income system (wages in the production and nonproduction areas, pensions, scholarships) is another urgent economic step. If we try to ensure the comprehensive solution of the problem--which is necessary--it would be expedient, in addition to the reform in retail prices and population income, to implement a monetary reform as well. An active policy in this area should contribute to the organic combination of the principles of upgrading the economic efficiency with which resources are used with achieving true socialist social justice.

The 27th CPSU Congress formulated a number of crucial social problems which we must solve by the year 2000. The housing problem is among the first of these. Between 1986 and the year 2000 no less than 2 billion square meters of housing must be completed, which will enable us to implement a task of essential significance to our country: giving each family its own apartment or house. This will mean a qualitative leap toward the universal availability of housing for the USSR population. In pursuing a policy of increasing the share of

resources channeled into the development of the social sphere, the party and the government have earmarked already for the 12th 5-year period a drastic increase in the volume of housing construction, raising it to 595 million square meters.

Unquestionably, this is the main trend in solving the housing problem. In accordance with the new conditions of the country's socioeconomic progress, and the substantially increased living standard of the population, we must perfect the principles governing the financing of housing construction, the allocation of housing and house rentals. The percentage of cooperative and individual construction will be increased in the future. More use will be made, thus, of the population's funds. The problem of changing rental payments based on the overall area of housing, its quality, location, etc., is under consideration.

In our view, however, even the implementation of such steps does not solve a number of complex problems in this area. A long-standing question is that of introducing a socially guaranteed minimum of population free housing, similar to the social consumption funds. Incidentally, this idea is also supported by T.I. Zaslavskaya, although we do not entirely agree with her view that today the criteria for distinguishing between paid and unpaid benefits have been replaced by their material counterpart. The state must provide a social guarantee on a basic level, a social standard in meeting housing requirements. Within this range housing is a social benefit a certain amount of which (differentiated by the area of the country, sex and age groups, social income, etc.) should be granted to every member of society free of charge. Beyond this socially guaranteed minimum, the housing social standard becomes a commodity which must be paid for in full. The difference between the economic and social need and between economic and social benefits will determine the line separating paid from free satisfaction of needs, limits which will change as the wealth of society increases and the standard of its economic development grows and as the system of socioeconomic and moral-ethical values of socialism and changes in the cultural and educational standards of its members take place.

The set of such measures in the area of housing policy will enable us to involve housing within the effect of the law of distribution according to labor to a considerably greater extent than is the case now and to establish a strong socialist-based utilization of commodity-monetary relations. This will substantially enhance their stimulating effect on the material incentive of workers and, consequently, on upgrading the economic efficiency of public production and maintaining high and stable rates of economic growth. What makes this circumstance the more important is that housing is a socioeconomic benefit the need for which objectively grows with the increased living standards of the population and is exceptionally difficult to saturate.

The present agenda calls for the radical restructuring of the material and technical base of the sociocultural complex of the USSR, which must be consistent with the highest global standards. The 27th Party Congress noted the harm which was done to the country's socioeconomic progress as a whole as a result of lagging in the development of this complex.

The need presently exists for improving the situation in the areas of health care, education, etc. An unjustified differentiation in the consumption of cultural goods has developed among different cities, rural areas, economic zones and population strata. The most important social task and one of the ways leading to true socialist social justice is that of drastically increasing the volume of services granted to the sociocultural complex, upgrading their quality and equalizing access to them for the population of large, medium-sized and small cities and rural areas and different economic parts of the country. This is also a necessary prerequisite for upgrading the efficiency of economic growth. "Investments" in man, largely made through the development of the country's sociocultural complex, drastically upgrades the quality of manpower and contributes to its steady improvement, without which the acceleration of socioeconomic progress is inconceivable. This is also a manifestation of the function of social consumption funds, which provide real economic incentives, for sociocultural services are provided largely either for free or against small payments. Part of the strategy followed in the development of the Soviet sociocultural complex must also include steps taken in connection with the reform of the entire educational system.

Major steps must also be taken in the area of social insurance in the near future. A comprehensive pensions reform is exceptionally relevant. As we know, the last reform in pensions was in 1956 and its procedure has become substantially obsolete. The economic situation of the retired is steadily worsening compared with that of the working population. Taking into consideration the real increase in retail prices over the past 25 to 30 years, their living standard has declined in absolute terms.

The party and the government have already initiated the implementation of steps to improve the living standards of pensioners. Minimal pensions for old age and disability of workers and employees, and survivor pensions will continue to be increased during the 12th 5-year period; the old pensions of kolkhoz members will begin to be increased. Naturally, such increases are related to the amount of actual resources at the disposal of our country in 1986-1990. With the growth of the national income we may be able to undertake the overall implementation of a pensions reform. A number of economists have estimated that a pension should amount to approximately 67-70 percent of the worker's wage. We deem it expedient to introduce the following socioeconomic mechanism for changing the amount of pensions as the result of fluctuations in the average retail price index for material goods and services: to increase the former, if said index is increased, and to keep them on the same level if the index remains the same or even if it drops. We must also bear in mind that increasing pensions as a result of increased efficiency and volume of public production will have a positive impact on the level of the economic efficiency of the utilization of production resources. In other words, population pensions perform not only a purely social but also an important economic function as they contribute to ensuring the high rates of economic growth of the country.

The elimination of low-level income of some population groups in socialist society is a party's programmatic requirement. Computations have indicated that one of the most important reasons for the existence of low income families is the presence of pensioners and children. It is precisely this

that defines the strategy of the elimination of this phenomenon and the proper use of social consumption funds. We already mentioned pensions. Increasing social aid to families with children is on the agenda. During the 12th 5-year period the age of children for which low income families are paid supplements will be raised; medical drugs for children under the age of 3 will be provided free of charge. Partially paid leave to mothers for childcare will be increased to 18 months, etc.

Naturally, all of these processes will be intensively developed between 1991 and the year 2000. At the same time, we must remember that the limit of the low income, which will grant families the right to one type of social aid or another provided by the socialist state will increase with the growth of the physical volume of the national income and the enhanced population living standard. Said measures are essentially also elements of an active demographic policy aimed at eliminating the very bad situation prevailing in the country. The elimination of this situation will be an additional factor in maintaining high and stable rates of economic growth.

Naturally, this article can touch upon no more than a few problems of the interconnection between social development and economic growth. This problem is exceptionally vast. Its study, as T.I. Zaslavskaya already pointed out in her article, must be drastically intensified. In the final account, taking into consideration the interaction among economic, social, ecological and other factors, we must scientifically substantiate the processes of the optimal allocation of resources in the national economy on all planned management levels.

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## CREDIT AS A FACTOR OF ACCELERATION

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[Article by V. Rybin, professor, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] In his article "Commodity-Monetary Relations in the Concept of Acceleration" (KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1986), V. Kulikov noted that efforts to reject in principle the use of commodity-monetary relations have dangerous negative consequences. Unless the proper and objectively predetermined scope is provided to this legitimately existing phenomenon, it assumes a "clandestine" status, as the result of which it inevitably becomes distorted. It is only with the all-round balanced approach, and a consideration of the positive and negative aspects of corresponding real phenomena, that undesirable trends can be avoided.

We shall try to develop this idea with the example of an economic lever such as credit which, as was noted in the Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, has lost its true purpose. We shall discuss some problems of the restructuring of the content and methods of banking work. For credit can act as a truly economic tool for upgrading production efficiency and intensifying turnover and fund circulation and struggling against negligence and waste only by substantially influencing the interests of borrowers--collectives of enterprises, associations and organizations--and when bank activities themselves are assessed on the basis of their influence on end economic results of the work of such cost accounting units within the national economy and in strengthening monetary circulation in the various sectors and areas and the country at large.

A stable and properly organized monetary circulation in the country, consistent with the needs for socialist reproduction intensification, is a prerequisite for the active development and efficient utilization of economic management methods. It is only on the basis of such a monetary circulation (cash or cashless) that economic levers may be efficiently used: wages, bonuses, production costs, profitability, prices, etc., balancing physical and value proportions on all economic management levels and determining the actual contribution of each unit to efficient public production.

Credit is the leading economic regulator of monetary circulation: it means primarily adding money to it, whereas repayment means withholding it. Suffice

it to say that its share in the source of working capital exceeds 57 percent in the national economy and accounts for 51 percent in industry. However, such a high percentage proves not that the role of credit has increased, as is frequently interpreted in publications, but, conversely, that negative phenomena exist and that credit is invading an area where it cannot be used fruitfully: the area of utilization above all of profits or, more accurately, enterprise working capital, the purpose of which is to cover the permanent fixed financial needs of enterprises and associations and act as a foundation for their cost accounting independence.

As we know, credit is provided in the guise of loans for a specific term and at a certain interest rate, to meet temporary financial needs. However, basic principles are frequently violated. The bank establishments are still too liberal in granting loans even in cases when financial difficulties are of a durable nature, i.e., when loans are not repaid on time and debts are sometimes written off. Yet these are accurate symptoms that the customers are not managing carefully and economically, that they are making poor use of material, manpower and financial resources, that they are failing to implement state plans or else are producing items not in demand by consumers.

Between 1970 and 1984 indebtedness increased by a factor of 3.2 whereas the gross national product increased by no more than 1.9; in industry, carryovers of short-term loans have tripled while industrial output increased by no more than a factor of 2.06. A paradoxical situation developed: the higher production and marketing outlays became, the more loans were granted (frequently automatically). From a resource-conservation economic instrument, loans actually became a resource consuming feature, covering the permanent and not declining enterprise, association and organization outlays, losing their main purpose, which is to be granted for a specific period of time. Things went so far that working capital was "eaten up" and obligations to the budget were met with borrowed funds.

If approximately 20 percent of short-term loans are without collateral and if one-third of the loans are not actually repaid on time (including loans for permanent outlays and rescheduling of repayments), and if a significant percentage of the loans are written off, where do bank resources come from? Unfortunately, to a large extent, from unsecured sources. Currently population deposits in savings accounts exceed 230 billion rubles. It is precisely from such funds that loans were made during the 1970s and first half of the 1980s. Yet the quite significant share of deposits in savings accounts reflects unsatisfied current demand unsupported by material values. In my view, no loans should be made out of such fictitious sources. This is a mandatory condition for highly efficient crediting. The banks must also clearly indicate delinquent obligations of enterprises and abandon the existing practice of granting various types of rescheduling, repaying some loans with new loans, etc. In the final account, all of this leads to covering the arrears and "forgiving the sins" of enterprises and individuals who manage wastefully, and to the growth of another type of delinquent indebtedness: non-settling accounts among enterprises, associations and organizations, imbalanced physical and value proportions and weakening of the country's monetary circulation.

What must be done to restore to loans their true purpose, to make the banking authorities guardians of the state interests and, at the same time, comprehensively to contribute to the development of the initiative and economic enterprise of labor collectives? Bearing in mind that credits are an instrument of commodity-monetary relations, we shall consider above all the question of their stimulating influence on the development and enhancement of production efficiency. So far, no incentive system of crediting properly working enterprises, construction projects and organizations has been developed. Such a system applies only to minor economic and organizational-administrative facilities, which leave such enterprises virtually uninterested in making better use of loans. This system was somewhat developed this year: the Gosbank branches have been given the right to raise or lower by up to 50 percent the interest rates they charge on loans.

As to the arsenal of economic sanctions, it is substantial, including the application of a special crediting system in the case of some customers (increasing interest rates on loans by 20 percent, terminating some types of loans, totally eliminating crediting, repayment of loans on demand, etc.) and even declaring enterprises insolvent. However, such penalties exist essentially on paper only and are applied to no more than one out of four poorly working enterprises, essentially small ones and, above all, are not used to the fullest extent. Why? The bank personnel are unwilling to spoil existing relations. Furthermore, they frequently are subject to pressure on the part of the local party bodies and ministries. For example, the following question is asked of them: "Do you want to sink this enterprise?" Naturally, that is not the task of the bank. All the bank is trying to do is to urge on its customers through specific economic methods and, if necessary, urge the superior organizations to take the necessary steps to improve economic-financing activities. Should it become necessary to resort to the extreme measure of converting the enterprise to a special crediting regime, the enterprise could be given economic assistance such as loans for new equipment (install such equipment and solve the difficulty!), loans for clearing accounts with transportation systems and other needs, i.e., a number of reasons indirectly dependent on the customer are taken into consideration.

Unfortunately, for the time being, not all of these reasons are actually taken into consideration. The necessary flexibility and differentiated approach to each serviced unit are not applied. The customers frequently label banking personnel in unflattering terms, such as "bureaucrats" and "reinsurers." Are they always wrong? Their claims have a great deal of truth. For many regulations and instructions appeared as though to compensate for faults in the economic mechanism and the lack of economic management methods needed for the successful use of credits. Naturally, the bank must perform dispatcher and, even more so, coordinating functions. Now, however, when our entire work is being reorganized, and when enterprises are being granted greater rights, should the bank remain to economic managers only a threatening finger or an "open cash register" for funds? Would it not be more expedient for the bank to become a real partner (assuming reciprocal economic responsibility and joint control), a fellow worker, an ally?

At the conference of the aktiv of the Kuzbassovsk Kray Party Organization, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized: "It is sometimes asked what kind of deal is this--the

reorganization--how to understand its meaning, what is this reorganization 'to be eaten with'? All of us favor it but do not know what to do."

The same type of thinking prevails among some bank personnel. Many of them realize that the reorganization must begin with everyone personally, with defining one's civic stance. However, they are unable to do so being tied, hands and feet, by a number of instructions. Therefore, frankly stated, it is difficult to display any flexibility in the solution of complex problems. Furthermore, not everyone (not being responsible for the results of the activities of serviced clients, he is not being directly rewarded for good work) would be willing, thinking that, "If I am successful few will notice; if nothing changes, I still get my bonus."

In order for no one to stand aside of the acceleration process, the reorganization in production collectives must be organically combined with the reorganization of the work of the primary bank institutions. To this effect their rights must be increased, their responsibility must be enhanced and the type of atmosphere which would enhance the human factor and encourage us to eliminate the accumulated inertia and indifference, and would promote initiative and enterprise must be created.

Let us begin with planning the allocation of financial-credit resources. As a rule, currently it takes place on a republic and union-wide scale, without the participation of the local banks. In my view, this practice must be changed through the comprehensive application of the following rule: requests for loans submitted by enterprises and associations (including for long-term capital investments) to superior economic organizations must take place only after they have been coordinated with the servicing bank office and "sanctioned" by it. The enterprise must prove that it is truly engaged in production intensification; it must submit figures indicating the legitimacy and expediency of obtaining a loan (if it is short of its own funds) for production development and increased efficiency, improving the quality of output, applying new methods of labor and production organization, new construction, reconstruction and technical retooling, as well as cost estimates proving that the blueprints include solutions which accelerate scientific and technical progress and are consistent with world standards.

Should the bank decide that the enterprise is displaying an inadmissibly passive attitude on this matter or has failed to observe the stipulated conditions, or else that the contracting organizations would be unable to carry out the stipulated volume of work on time, that there will be no personnel for the newly built projects, etc., it informs the customer of this fact and, if necessary, submits the question for discussion by the labor collective. If no agreement is reached, the request is directed to the ministry without the signature of the bank's management. In such a case, the bank may grant a loan only if it is guaranteed by the superior organization, which undertakes to take the necessary steps and promptly to repay the loan. We believe that such a procedure would force some ministry officials to take a new look at the intensification process, adopt a stricter attitude toward steps planned by enterprises and consider whether the latter are investing funds in morally obsolete projects, for not only the sectorial headquarters as a whole but, personally, specific individuals will be responsible for end

results. At the same time, the bank establishments must be given the right to change their credit relations with enterprises in terms of current operations (reduce the amount of loans or increase interest rates) should the plans drafted by the clients fail to include efficient steps to intensify production and turnover. A true economic partner must have the possibility of demanding active penalties from his associate, should the latter violate the common interest of both sides.

A selective evaluation of enterprise reconstruction plans, the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, indicated that by no means are all of them consistent with contemporary standards; many of them must be redrafted while some are hopelessly obsolete and the implementation of some of them has been denied and forbidden. By then, however, huge amounts of money have already been spent, a great deal of efforts have been wasted and precious time lost. Yet this could have been avoided by promptly "sifting" all requests with the help of the bank. Is the bank capable of providing such effective control? Yes, it is. To begin with, currently all of its offices and some large departments have their engineering sections. Secondly, they have been given the right to recruit major specialists and pay for their services for scrupulously determining the quality of any project estimate. Thirdly, in my view, criteria of the efficiency of projects planned for construction during the 5-year period must be formulated and, on this basis, a corresponding model designed. Currently virtually all USSR Gosbank and Stroybank offices have computers or else their needs are met by the Computer Center of the Central Statistical Administration. With their help, cost estimates can be checked from the viewpoint of their consistency with minimal efficiency criteria.

The use of the recommended methods for planned control of credits and the organic inclusion of financial-credit planning on all levels within the plan for economic and social development (in terms of deadlines, development methodology, balancing methods, etc.) and the formulation of the plan for the country's monetary circulation (cash and cashless) make it possible substantially to enhance the overall substantiation of economic planning and to strengthen its unified nationwide aspect on the various levels.

Customer computer data banks may be set up as well, for a huge amount of information goes through bank offices: the systematically submitted account clearing documents contain an average of 21 items (indicators) on various aspects of their activities. Currently only five are being actively used. If only 10 items are properly classified and fed into a computer, applicable to the major aspects of customer activities, the possibility will appear, without unnecessarily burdening the enterprises with numerous investigations and studies, but only by classifying, systematizing and analyzing data on a daily basis (or perhaps even once every 5 days) of gaining an idea of their financial status and, in frequent cases, to prevent negligence promptly and efficiently, without waiting for the shortcomings to worsen and lead to inefficient or even illegal outlays!

In my view, it is on this basis that it would be expedient to restructure the system of governmental control, for the USSR Gosbank and Stroybank, which have their offices in each rayon in the country, could coordinate the activities of controlling agencies by regularly and promptly submitting to them the

necessary information on the most important aspects of the activities of enterprises they service. This would drastically reduce the need for currently duplicating investigations and control personnel; petty supervision will be eliminated and enterprise, association and organization workers will be distracted less frequently from their immediate obligations. Finally, with the help of economic levers (money, credit, accounts), and not only by imposing penalties but also by giving timely assistance and stimulating the serviced labor collectives, the banking system could direct their activities toward the successful implementation of national plans and actively pursue a line of accelerated scientific and technical progress and resource conservation. Control through the ruble will be strengthened, covering all units of the national economic complex, upgrading its promptness and efficiency; the bank would become an agency responsible for organizing economic control in the country. This will constitute a major step in developing a mechanism for identifying poorly working enterprises and associations and a reserve for upgrading production efficiency, as stated in V. Kulikov's article. The bank will undertake to organize extradepartmental control and will ensure its fruitful and comprehensive development.

On this basis, the bank should have the possibility of providing active economic support to enterprises oriented toward intensive production; on their request, it could efficiently provide them with the necessary loans. Unfortunately, today such loans are essentially granted by order "from above." Frequently (particularly in heavy industry) the loans are issued not only to a specific enterprise but even for purchasing a specific type of raw material. We believe that such excessive centralization should be discarded, for in addition to everything else, it creates an abundance of instructions and other documents. This year some work has already been started on reducing them: loan subjects are being consolidated, the number of different loans is being reduced, the accountability periods are being lengthened and information on the availability of credit values and outlays is submitted to the bank less frequently. This has made it possible to reduce the number of documents issued on an annual basis by more than 1 million. However, what we need are not individual improvements but a radical reorganization. In my view, bank instructions should include only the general principles and rules governing crediting, a clear definition of the functions, rights and obligations of the parties to the loan, the listing of penalties, benefits and regulations governing loan and payment accounts, accountability forms and some other mandatory stipulations. As to the variety of ways and means of maintaining credit relations, a description of the expediency of a given form or method of crediting should be issued to the bank offices. Such recommendations should be issued on the basis of the summation of progressive experience in credit relations, thereby not paralyzing the initiative of subordinate subdivisions. It would be desirable to offer them gradually the possibility of making loans on the basis of more consolidated specifications, extensively to redistribute, if necessary, loans among projects (even consolidated ones) and borrowers and, possibly, subsequently to introduce even the competitive granting of some types of bank loans (above all for capital investments, which are within the range of competence of enterprises, taking into consideration the fact that self-financing must mandatorily include a bank loan). Naturally, in order to be able efficiently to respond to new enterprise requests, which arise both in connection with the utilization of the loaned funds as well as additional

needs for credit, the bank should have the necessary cash reserves (not necessarily in each department but mandatorily in its office). Presently such reserves, very small at that, may be found only in the administrative offices of the USSR Gosbank and Stroybank (they should be made available to the banks' republic offices as well).

Let us consider the following matter as well: currently the USSR Gosbank and Stroybank operate on a cost accounting basis whereas their offices do not. Would it not be expedient to introduce elements of self-recovery of credit resources? Naturally, we realize that today this would be hardly possible, say, in Magadan Oblast, for here migration flows in terms of commodities imported and cash exported are quite substantial (workers and employees earn higher wages which, however, they frequently spend in other parts of the country; loan resources, excluding population savings accounts, are low, for here it is mining industry that is essentially developed, consumer goods come from the outside, etc.). Such exceptions, however, should not block the general rule that the kray, oblast and, to a certain extent, rayon bank office should essentially find its own credit resources, for it includes not only deposits into savings accounts by the population but, above all, surpluses from the payment accounts of enterprises and associations, funds deposited in the bank for various payments among partners and, finally, surplus funds from the accounts of budget-supported organizations.

The more actively the bank influences the strengthening of the financial condition of enterprises, associations and organizations (which is an accurate feature of true cost accounting in balancing material with value proportions and resources), and the more surplus funds are kept in bank accounts, the more fully banks will be able to use them as loan resources. The extent to which the bank offices will be able properly to determine and make use of such resources and make more efficient loans and contribute to their accelerated use will directly determine the amount of withholdings developed for material incentive funds and centralized (primarily by office) funds for sociocultural measures and housing construction and production development (above all for new computers), which will increase the interest of bank workers in accelerating fund circulation and turnover, i.e., the intensification of production and turnover processes (incidentally, in frequent cases bank managers ask the directors of enterprises and associations they service to allocate housing for their personnel, provide places in kindergarten, etc. Is it always possible to maintain principle-minded positions in such interrelationships when behaving as "poor relatives?").

How to direct and assess the activities of bank offices? Currently superior authorities issue resolutions which mandate that work be concentrated on crediting, financing and organizing account payments and covering the entire economic and control activities concentrated on the strict implementation of the main task of the 12th 5-year period: upgrading the pace and efficiency of economic development. Usually, this is followed by instructions calling for "expanding," "intensifying," and "upgrading," which merely irritate the people. Occasionally, more "specific" letters, and memoranda are received from the oblast offices, calling for finding possibilities of upgrading the shift coefficient of enterprise work, improving the utilization of production waste and recycled resources, improving seed selection, eliminating reasons

for cattle losses, etc. We believe that it is the enterprise that must mainly and above all be answerable for the "material" results of its activities, whereas the bank office must be responsible for their financial-economic aspects (together with the financial authorities of the client), and for balancing physical with value ratios by region (rayon, etc.) and the organization of cash circulation. For if the required items are produced, progressive equipment is used successfully and resources and proportions are balanced, correspondingly the financial results of the serviced customers will be good. It is precisely for such indicators, as well as for finding credit resources, that the bank must report to its board and inform the local party and soviet authorities. It is precisely the bank that must be taken strictly to task for the poor financial condition of one enterprise or another, asking it what it has done to improve it? The bank has at its disposal a variety of economic levers and the necessary information; as an equal partner, it is called upon to formulate methods for the elimination of exposed shortcomings in the client. It is only if it is unable to correct the situation that it should turn for help to the ministry, the local party authorities or the prosecutor's office and even raise the question of undertaking a joint investigation of the enterprise with a view to analyzing its work and taking steps to improve its further activities (or to reorganize, merge or even close down the enterprise). It is precisely in this case that under exceptional circumstances the bank could declare poorly working enterprises as insolvent. This does not mean in the least, as V. Kulikov accurately writes, independently solving the problem of closing an enterprise down. Such a step would draw the attention of all authorities, including the partners of the enterprise, the superior economic organizations and the entire public on the type of units within the single national economic complex in which an emergency situation has developed and on the need to take extreme steps to correct the developed situation.

At the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev called upon the party agencies on all levels to abandon elements of bureaucratic administration and dispatcher functions. Therefore, if in answer to imposed penalties to the enterprise the party raykom and gorkom start "pressuring," the bank's management is called upon, without fearing a worsening of relations, to report this to the superior party unit with the request to help in determining who is right and who is wrong.

V.I. Lenin pointed out that the bank is the nervous system of the state. It is precisely the banks which must provide daily economic management of production, accountability and control. "Banking policy," Lenin wrote, "...must gradually but steadily be directed toward the conversion of banks toward a single machinery of accountability and regulation of socialist organized economic life throughout the entire country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 220).

Since we are converting, as was pointed out at the 27th Party Congress, primarily to economic management methods, and are granting greater autonomy to enterprises, in my view it is precisely the bank that must be entrusted with daily nonburdening control over the propriety with which this independence is being used and over whether or not it is promoting end national economic results or else serving strictly parochial and departmental interests.

In conclusion, I would like to consider the nature of the specifically bank-oriented means used to enhance the role of the human factor. In my view, a direct correlation must be established between material incentive of bank employees and the prompt and, even more so, ahead of schedule utilization of granted loans, and the enterprise workers on which said utilization depends. I believe that it would be expedient to set up at the enterprise such an incentive fund from reduced interest rates based on the successful use of loans (2-3 instead of 6 percent) while, conversely, charge higher (penalty) interest rates for their poor utilization. It would be expedient for the enterprise to set aside such saved funds as part of its bonus assets. In such a case the bank workers and the corresponding enterprise specialists would be materially interested in the faster utilization of loans, a more profound study of enterprise work and giving the enterprise the necessary help. Naturally, it is not a question for the bank workers to begin to study technical problems. However, it is precisely they who can impartially analyze the reasons for the poor installation of modern equipment, a lagging in construction, and so on, and estimate what specifically a specialist and workers could benefit or lose as a result of this, describe this at a general meeting of the collective and, if necessary, together with members of the public economic analysis bureau undertake a thorough investigation, etc.

The planned reorganization of the economic mechanism is based on the fuller utilization of commodity-monetary relations with their new socialist content. In 1985 the budget accounted for 46-47 percent, enterprise funds for 51 percent and long-term credits for 2-3 percent of sources for financing capital investments. One may think that good conditions exist for the development of cost accounting relations, for the enterprise owns more than one-half of all funds for new construction, reconstruction and technical retooling. However, a study of the structure of such funds in 11 machine building ministries in 1983-1984 indicated that only about one-third of these funds had been earned by the enterprises; the remainder had been distributed among them on a centralized basis within the sector. This practice, which was condemned at the 27th Party Congress, weakened cost accounting and triggered dependency. Actually, why make a long-term loan and be under bank control and pay interest if funds could be obtained also "from above." Now, as we know, the most important elements of total cost accounting are being formulated. At the AvtoVAZ the enterprise's own resources (in the true meaning of the term) are used for reconstruction and technical retooling. The Sumy Machine Building Association operates on the basis of total self-financing. In 1987 all labor collectives of the Ministry of Chemical Machine Building and several dozen associations and enterprises and other sectors and, gradually, all industry, will be converted to such operating principles. Inevitably, the percentage of medium-term (1-5 years) and long-term (over 5 years) loans will increase. The bank will gain the possibility of influencing through economic methods not only a lowering of material intensiveness (for most of the loans are issued to pay for material outlays) but also capital returns (for quite some time negative trends have appeared in this area), increasing the shift coefficient, etc. Material incentive (and, possibly, disincentive), which takes into consideration end work results will make it possible to enhance labor activeness and increase responsibility for assignments and for accelerating the socioeconomic development of society.

In studying the role of credit, Marx noted that its purpose is to ensure the continuity of the reproduction process and to contribute to its acceleration (in terms of value), ensuring the "acceleration of the reproduction process in general" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part I, p 479). By combining the state principle and centralized control over granting credit with a unified economic policy of the state in the center and the local areas, credit can combine not only the interest of society, the sector and the enterprise collective but, to a certain extent (with an active interest rate policy) also of the individual. It is precisely credit that must act as one of the economic levers in production intensification and it is precisely with its proper functioning that the possibility appears of creating and economic mechanism for the highly efficient control of monetary circulation.

Objectively assessing from the positions of society the contribution of the individual unit to national economic results, the banking system must organize equivalent accounts among all parties, obtained through really earned funds, and through the effect of the principles of compensation, self-recovery and self-financing in the case of cost accounting enterprises and associations. All of this leads us to believe that the banking system must be in charge of organizing economic control methods within the country and on each level of the national economic complex.

The reorganization is a nationwide project. It affects everyone and must take place everywhere. That is why we would like to know the views of the managers of the USSR Gosbank and Stroybank, of enterprises and rank-and-file workers concerning these suggestions (providing details and developing them or, conversely, criticizing them).

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## EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN--EVERYTHING FOR MAN

### ON THE RESTRUCTURING -- WITH OPTIMISM, BUT WITHOUT EMBELLISHMENT

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[Interview with the composer Dmitriy Kabalevskiy]

[Text] The problem of man and his increasing role in the life of our society and the significance of the comprehensive approach to upbringing is important and amazingly varied. It contains many unknown and even unexpected factors. This is natural, for it is a question of man as an integral, a unique personality. This talk, however, is not about general problems. Rather the contrary: it is about a very specific problem--the school music curriculum. This is a contemporary problem and it is precisely what it should be in a period of reorganization of all areas of social life, including culture.

V. Sukhomlinskiy's words are chosen as its epigraph: "Musical education is not the education of a musician but, above all, the education of a person." The purpose of teaching music in general education schools is formulated as follows: to introduce the children into the world of great art and to develop within them a musical culture as part of their overall spiritual culture. The lesson must contribute to the creative development of the children and to motivate them to engage in independent thinking, display initiative and aspire to do something new and better.

The students master topics such as "Intonation," "Musical Character," "The Transforming Force of Music," "Music and Our Time," "Music and Literature," etc. Many established concepts of simplicity and complexity are being changed radically. Briefly, this is a real reorganization. More than 8 million children are already learning according to the new curriculum in the schools of the Russian Federation alone. Therefore, we can interpret and analyze the nature of the psychological restructuring on the basis of a specific and by no means isolated example. Let us not delude ourselves by the idea of success in the music education of school students. Quite alarming symptoms may be found in this area.

Therefore, this will be a discussion of a real reorganization, with optimism but without embellishment. Following is a talk between Composer Dmitriy Kabalevskiy and KOMMUNIST Correspondent O. Kuprin.

Let me begin by introducing my interlocutor: Dmitriy Borisovich Kabalevskiy, creator of a new school music curriculum, noted composer, doctor of art studies, full member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (APN), honorary president of the International Society for Musical Education of UNESCO, Hero of Socialist Labor and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. My interlocutor has other lofty titles but even the ones I have mentioned would be sufficient for the reader to understand the meaning of the question I asked toward the end of our talk:

[Question] If that reorganization which you thought about at the beginning of the 1970s had been suggested by a totally unknown innovative teacher, would the school students have a new music curriculum today?

The answer to this was easy to guess. But how would it come out? Considering Dmitriy Borisovich's gentle nature, one could expect a sad smile and a "melancholy-Chopin-style" intonation...

[Answer] In any serious matter one must begin with the deepest foundations of our life. In this case, with an understanding of the role which aesthetic education, musical in particular, plays in the development of society. We should bear in mind that an aesthetic evaluation always turns into an ethical evaluation. It helps to develop in the person humanistic qualities. That is why the essence, scale and trend of aesthetic upbringing is defined by any society in accordance with its own image.

[Question] In other words, aesthetic education assumes a social and political significance?

[Answer] This is frequently forgotten. I recall the first years of the Soviet system. Art actually became the most important (and obvious!) lever in the social restructuring of society, a means of spiritual enrichment of the people. It proved to be socially and politically necessary. It gave the people beauty and contributed to the assertion of socialism in their consciousness.

Before the war and in the postwar years formalism became firmly anchored in aesthetic work with children, particularly in school pedagogy. The overwhelming majority of today's educators were exposed to a significant extent to the formalized school which they attended when A.V. Lunacharskiy, N.K. Krupskaya or B.V. Asafyev were no longer with us; I ascribe to one of the latter's statements particular importance. "...if we consider music as a school subject," he wrote, "we must above all categorically take away problems of the study of music and say the following: music is an art, i.e., a phenomenon created by man, and not a scientific subject of study."

Teaching art in school must not resemble teaching mathematics or biology, perhaps for the fact alone that the laws of art are essentially different from those of mathematics and biology.

[Question] Many educators have pointed out that children, starting from their earliest years, have a natural musically creative talent. They subconsciously create rhythms and melodies. Subsequently, they gradually lose this ability.

You communicate with children a great deal. In your view, is there such a tendency?

[Answer] The fact that children are active creators in a great variety of areas, art in particular, is irrefutable. Consider what takes place on an ordinary sand pile: quite unexpected architectural ideas are born. Artistic creativity is one of the first means of learning about the world. Everyone in his childhood is an artist. Look at the children. They all draw and put things together. Look at the way they sing. Look at the way they dance and how happily they read their poetry (sometimes without words, with musical syllables only)! There is an example for you.

Dmitriy Borisovich sat down behind the grand piano, and set in front of him a music sheet. I heard a pleasant and complete melody.

"This was composed by a 7-year-old child," D.B. Kabalevskiy went on to say. "Very interesting creative work and absolutely natural. Children perceive art like they perceive the sun, the clouds, the wind, the fields, the forests, their mother's smile and the life itself they live. That is why they consider their own creative work something entirely natural."

[Question] Subsequently, however, the children's creative principle dries out. Could this natural gift of childhood be preserved and developed?

[Answer] I have spent my entire life with children. I have observed, studied, and admired them but I have been unable to understand how their creative capabilities disappear. My guess is that it is we, adults (parents and educators) who are to be blamed or, rather, the primitive principle of upbringing and training, which has been strongly implanted in our minds and practice: this you can do and this you cannot do; this is correct and this is incorrect. Actually, what this is is training and not education. Creativity begins where ordinary taboos are violated for the sake of creating something new and better. Any prohibition, which is unexplained and, therefore, not understood, strikes at creativity. It is thus that we have learned how to kill in the children their creative principle even before they go to school, not to mention what happens in school.

[Question] Even in music class?

[Answer] There as well. Currently music classes in general educational schools are undergoing a transitional period. The old curriculum, in all its variants, aimed at developing in the children the skill of chorus singing. A children's chorus is a splendid art and a splendid educator developing feelings of collectivism and responsibility.

The school children also sing in classes based on the new curriculum. Obviously, no worse than in the past. However, today this is not the purpose. Even while I was a child, not only in Sunday school but even in high school music classes were restricted to the utilitarian task of teaching as to sing in church in a more or less harmonious fashion (not to mention the fact that singing lessons were an appendix to the main "ideological" subject--Catechism). Our time has set the school an essentially different objective:

to help the young generation to master the foundations of music, without which the harmonious development of the individual is impossible.

[Question] What, in your view, is the main obstacle along this way?

[Answer] Formalism.... Formalism in all of its manifestations. It kills living art the way it kills living thinking. It turns it into a dead system. I wrote at one point that in art it looks like an x-ray, in which the first thing that one sees is the precise outlines of the skeleton, whereas the living tissue assumes a vague and loose shape. In an x-ray picture it is difficult to distinguish between a beautiful woman and a monster, between a great humanist and a hardened rogue. Imagine what happens when a child is forced to look at life only through an x-ray machine. True art has always been the loyal bulwark of humanism, a weapon against lack of spirituality. We must firmly use this noble weapon, considering the task of molding an active, spiritually rich and creative personality. Therefore, a new approach to aesthetic education is needed.

[Question] Therefore, if we formulate briefly the essence of this approach....

[Answer] I repeat, the most important thing is to set a new objective for music classes at school: mastery of musical culture. However, achieving this objective and even simply successfully advancing toward it is impossible unless the children develop a stable interest in music. How to achieve this? Above all through music itself, heard in the classroom. It must be interesting. It must attract the young listeners, unlike the impression created by boring music or music which is only superficially entertaining, which can only entertain. Naturally, the music which is played must be truly good--folk music, classical and modern. That is why my slogan in the education of school students is the following: training in music is a means and education in music is the objective.

[Question] But children are different in terms of capability and level of training. How can a classroom lesson be made interesting for all?

[Answer] Exactly 60 years ago the same question was asked by Boris Vladimirovich Asafyev, who reached the disturbing conclusion that if we proceed from the capabilities and level of training, we cannot scientifically determine what should a music teacher begin with in a general education school. It is a dead end. But what if we proceed from something entirely different, from the practical experience of the children?

[Question] The practical experience of 7 (and now even 6)-year old children?

[Answer] Yes. I am referring to practical experience in music! In this area everything is far simpler.

I say "simpler." But in order to understand such "simplicity" decades of constant contact with children and hundreds of meetings, talks and concerts were needed. I had to find the base of this experience in children and if it absolutely existed in everyone. It does! In everyone!

Show me even a single child who has never in his life heard a song or has not sung himself; who has never seen people dance or has not danced himself; who has never come across soldiers marching to the rhythm of music, or athletes or Pioneers, or who has not himself marched in kindergarten or in a holiday demonstration, waving a small flag. The song, the dance and the march are three cornerstones on which the grandiose structure of music and its foundations are built. I have described them as the "three whales."

The song, the dance and the march are the most widespread, the most popular, the most democratic areas of music. These "three whales" are not only the base but also the natural link between music and life and with the huge masses of people, with the native soil.

It could be said that the new curriculum takes the students from one floor in the building of music to another, helping them closely to look at (to listen to) and to understand the new features which open to them with each subsequent higher level. The children not only listen (and perform themselves) the music but also think about it, understand that by studying music they are studying life. They study actively, on each occasion solving new creative problems, amazed at their own capabilities and experiencing the joys of discovery.

[Question] Shifting the emphasis from shaping habits to developing creative capabilities gives a new quality to the problem of education. Obviously, this demanded a different way of thinking, a different approach to music at school. In today's terms, you clashed with problems of reorganization more than 10 years ago. Whatever area we may take, there are substantial similarities in the reorganization process. What is the main feature you would single out among these common aspects?

[Answer] The reorganization, if it affects something essential in life, is not a smooth process. A new idea always comes across old beliefs, old customs and the inability (and even unwillingness) to solve new problems. Essential objections may not present themselves when an idea has been merely formulated. It frightens no one, for many people are used to the fact that the distance between words and actions is great. But then the moment the time comes to do something real, powerful obstructions immediately appear.

[Question] Let us consider this in greater detail. What are the hindrances to acceleration is a more than relevant question today. And in order for the discussion to be specific, we should probably recall how it all began.

[Answer] For many years, if not decades, everyone together spoke and wrote about shortcomings in aesthetic and, in particular, music upbringing. Meanwhile, students and teachers pined in anguish: half the time in class was spent in learning the lyrics of the next song and the other half the melody. Naturally, there were exceptions. An exception, however, is always nothing but an exception. Someone had to take up the drafting of a new curriculum, a new method or, briefly, undertake a radical reorganization of the teaching of music at school. This was demanded not only by the decisions by the Ministry of Education. It was demanded by life.

[Question] In the final account, however, do we not have the Scientific Research Institute for Artistic Education (NIIKhV) of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences? (I knew that Dmitriy Borisovich does not like to discuss this topic. However, there was no way to avoid problems related to the institute, for without that any talk of reorganization would have been pointless.)

[Answer] Yes, there is that institute, which must act as the all-union center which provides a scientific foundation and program for the aesthetic upbringing of all schools students. That is why the reorganization in the teaching of music at school could not take place without it. Unfortunately.... However, a discussion about this institute would lead us into another tonality, with an abundance of dissonant or simply wrong notes.

[Question] Alas, even the major reorganization currently taking place in the country is not safe from this. It would be useful to recall just a few facts from the biography of the new music curriculum, having decided to discuss the reorganization without any embellishment....

[Answer] You see, relations with the institute are a painful subject to me. As early as the mid-1960s, at the request of the academy's presidium, I studied the work of the music sector of the NIIKhV and its curriculum. It made a depressing impression--formalism, alienation from school practice.... In 1970 the USSR Ministry of Education instructed the institute to draft a new curriculum. I shared with the personnel in the sector ideas which you and I discussed. It was as though there were no essential objections. Nevertheless, the institute, which was headed at that time by B.T. Likhachev, was prepared only to engage in "providing supporting, current repairs." It considered the idea of radical restructuring absolutely alien and strange. After several years of futile efforts to solve the problems which had appeared I realized that I was wasting my time.

[Question] But then if you had a concept of a new school curriculum for music and if there were no essential objections to it and your being a full member of the APN and, therefore, having the right to have your own laboratory and if, on top of all else, there is a specialized institute in this area...

[Answer] I was told by the USSR Ministry of Education, which in charge of the academy, quite politely, that there was no budget for such laboratory.

[Question] And then?

[Answer] Then I decided to act without relying on or asking anyone.... I left the conservatory, where I had taught for nearly 40 years, and took up this project as an ordinary music school teacher.

[Question] A single soldier in the field?

[Answer] First of all, I was not alone. From the very beginning I was assisted by my former graduate student E.B. Abdullin. I asked him to find a school in Moscow which would agree to our totally unsanctioned independent activities, a school which would be most ordinary, just like all others. We

found such a school. It even lacked musical instruments and offered no classes in music: School No 209, on Nizhnaya Maslovka, in Moscow.

Secondly, a new idea is bound to have not only opponents but also supporters. All my assistant had to do at the republic seminar for teachers was to tell them briefly about the planned experiment and immediately we were joined by another 20 teachers from different schools throughout the country.

Starting with the autumn of 1973, classes based on the new curriculum began in 22 first grades; at that time the curriculum included only two half semesters. It was planned to cover the entire 7-year course; subsequently, it was divided into quarters and semesters for the 7 years. By then, however, the program had already been practically tried in the schools and solid practical experience had been acquired.

[Question] In other words enthusiasm alone solved the entire problem?

[Answer] There was more than just enthusiasm. The project became possible thanks to outstanding people, thinking people, people who were honest with themselves and with their work, who were able to step across the threshold of what had become customary in their own mentality, with a taste for the new, a need for creative work and with a clear civic stance. This applied to the personnel of the laboratory which was set up soon afterwards and to enthusiastic teachers, whose numbers grew steadily.

Half a year after the beginning of the classes, all participants in the experiment and other educators and method workers, who had heard about us, gathered in Moscow at the Composers' Union, on behalf of whom I had begun the project. The meeting was attended also by V.P. Strezikozin, chief of the program-method administration of the RSFSR Ministry of Education. He immediately became our ally. The participants in the conference agreed on the fact that something unexpected and interesting was developing and that such work should absolutely be continued. I taught an open class with my 7-year old "coauthors," as I called my students, after the end of the course. All experimenting teachers were given a curriculum for the balance of the year.

This was followed by yet another important meeting with the then RSFSR Minister of Education A.I. Danilov. On his decision, the School Scientific Research Institute of the ministry set up a laboratory in which I, with my associates, could continue to work on the curriculum and the aids it required. The minister's instruction was brief: "Act. We shall not interfere but shall expect results impatiently."

These were no mere words. The moment we drew up and tested the curriculum in the first three grades, the republic ministry approved and recommended it for the schools without awaiting the completion of the project for the entire 7-year course.

[Question] Was the of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences excluded?

[Answer] No. At presidium meetings I regularly reported on the course of the experiment. However, our work was not included in the plans or reports of the

academy, for we belonged "to another department"...to the RSFSR Ministry of Education....

[Question] What was the Scientific Research Institute for Artistic Education of the APN doing while you were working on the creation of the new curriculum?

[Answer] With amazing ease the music and dance sector drafted its music curriculums, one after the other. They were based on 10 and 7-year courses, two or one lessons weekly, experimental, standard...and all of them on the same long-obsolete principles. The academy's presidium did not deem it possible to approve a single one of them. However, nor did it take any steps to reorganize the sector.

[Question] Therefore, you won the creative competition with the institute?

[Answer] It could hardly be called a competition... Not to say creative...

Dmitriy Borisovich fell silent. Clearly, he was remembering the sad past, and the long years of exhausting struggle for a cause which should not have had any open and frank opponents. He possibly thought of the books unwritten and music uncomposed, and of many other things which he would obviously not share with an outsider who, furthermore, was recording the conversation.

Obviously, my question about the competition was needless. A competition is possible only when it is honest, conducted on an equal footing. What kind of equality can there be if on the one hand we have a new and practically tested idea and, on the other, a monolithic moss-covered departmental bastion.

The situation regarding the reorganization is quite typical: the ambitions of some groups of scientists, departmental dislike of "alien" inventions, ideas and theories, and lack of interest in their application.

"In I. Grekova's novel 'Vdoviy Parokhod' [The Widow's Steamer]," D.B. Kabalevskiy continued after a silence, "there is a woman, the head of a children's home. The author quite accurately notes that this woman, 'as is frequently the case with professional managers, had an impeccable sense for everything that was fresh and out of the ordinary. She immediately brought it to light and voided it.'

"Do you remember V.A. Sukhomlinskiy, L.V. Zankov, V.V. Davydov and M.P. Schetin, who challenged school routine and formalism? And what about the purgatory experienced by the noted painter and innovative educator B.M. Nemenskiy, or L.M. Predtechenskaya, the history teacher who created the 'World Artistic Culture' course for senior classmen?... All of these are phenomena of a single order: not a competition but a struggle, an uneven struggle.

"I do not know whether our psychologists are studying a social phenomenon such as the power of mental inertia and the mechanism of action of bureaucratism under contemporary conditions, and related red tape, assumed naivete and open hypocrisy. I have realized through personal experience how relevant such problems are and, let us be frank, unfortunately, they are the inevitable companions of the reorganization, the psychological reorganization in

particular. Once again on the basis of personal experience I have realized that one should not boast of initial, albeit universally acknowledged, successes. The old does not surrender its positions even after suffering an obvious defeat. Is this not one of the reasons for the fact that the reorganization in our country is proceeding much more slowly than it should? Having refuted or exposed something obsolete, we forget the tremendous viability of habit and stupid traditions."

[Question] Nevertheless, let us clarify some facts. The new music curriculum was approved as standard for all schools in the country by the USSR Ministry of Education and made mandatory for all schools in the Russian Federation by the RSFSR Ministry of Education; it was approved by the presidium of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the USSR Union of Composers. Let us add the fact that these approvals were issued twice: prior to the school reform and (with no changes whatsoever!) in the course of the reform. After such authoritative recognitions, who is opposing it, and how?

[Answer] Well, here is an example. Curriculums drafted by the NIIKhV, totally unapproved and unratified, were twice issued to union republics, not without the participation of V.M. Korotov, former USSR deputy minister of education (employed today at the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences).

Here is a more serious fact. Despite numerous decisions on the reorganization of the system for teacher training, the majority of music education schools and institutes, following their "flagship"--the MGPI imeni V.I. Lenin--are continuing to train future music teachers according to the old curriculum, although it is a known fact that in the schools they will have to work according to the new one. Last year as well the country's education VUZs graduated some 2,000 music teachers who, as a rule, were trained in that method, although the new curriculum had already been approved and ratified before they entered the VUZ. It is impossible to understand this on the basis of common sense.

You want another example? Be my guest. Last year, on behalf of the USSR APN Presidium I received "for your information and critical remarks" the latest document issued by that same NIIKhV "Main Content of Music Education in Secondary Schools." One may have thought that someone had overlooked the fact that an obviously obsolete document had been issued. Whereas previously the institute's materials claimed that "knowledge and skill are the very foundation of musical culture," it is now being said that the content of the subject "Music" is the mastery of knowledge, skills and habits. In other words, it is the same old formalism and neglect of the ideological and educational role of art. This is yet another means of hindering any kind of reorganization: simply ignore it, carry on as usual.

Other methods exist as well. For example, one could try to drown any practical reorganization in sterile discussions about it.

[Question] I have the feeling that to you this is not an abstract concept.

[Answer] It is entirely concrete. It is even concrete in terms of the calendar. Having lost patience, on 15 May 1985 I sent a letter to M.I.

Kondakov, president of the USSR APN and to members of the presidium, a letter on said NIIKhV document, asking a question which could be briefly formulated as follows: How long will the leadership of the academy tolerate what is taking place in their department and encourage work which they themselves have rejected?

I was urged to retract this letter or at least not to demand that it be discussed by the presidium. Nevertheless, a discussion took place but, in truth, 9 months later, on 5 February 1986. It was hardly different from many preceding ones. As in the past, my program was supported and the current work done by the music and dance sector of the NIIKhV, headed by Yu.B. Aliyev, was firmly condemned.

In citing the new scientific work of this sector, Academy Vice President Yu.K. Babanskiy, exclaimed indignantly: "We are asked who wrote this? Who allowed the publication of such illiterate theses? What kind of academy is this in general?" Everything, however, has remained unchanged. Everyone sticks to his opinion. The institute's sector headed by that same person, has long discredited itself. Yet M.I. Kondakov, USSR APN chairman, in concluding the discussion, proposed that "everything be forgotten" citing V. Mayakovskiy: "The incident is closed."

Once again I interrupted my interlocutor. The situation is quite typical. Alas, quite frequently many managers opt for pacification as a means of solving basic differences. Such methods have lead to the lack of a sober analysis of what was taking place in the country, curtailed openness and outburst of irresponsibility.

Under current conditions, the reorganization ranks alongside the concept of "revolution." Unless we eliminate inertia and indifference in a revolutionary manner, once and for all sweeping away the old and the obsolete, we are bound to be bogged down in conservatism hiding behind contemporaneity and consider as a practical reaction to practical criticism anger followed by no action.

D.B. Kabalevskiy went on to say:

"I then received a letter from the USSR APN Presidium, dated 5 February, which stated that a commission will be set up to investigate the activities of our familiar NIIKhV sector." Dmitriy Borisovich let me see the official form. "Here is what it says. The commission must submit the results of its investigation by 15 April. The February information reached me on 24 April. Did such commission operate, who were its members, and what were the results of the investigation are facts still unknown to me, although it was set up at a meeting of the presidium at which my letter was discussed. This is what academic red tape looks like from the specific calendar viewpoint. Bureaucratism loves secrecy.

"Incidentally, this presidium meeting was held behind closed doors. They probably did not wish to take the skeletons out of the closet. However, a UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA correspondent was able to attend the meeting. Efficient work was done by the journalist and his article showed up 2 weeks later. Read it, it provides substantial additions to our present discussion."

I read the article.

The task facing some participants in that discussion was difficult: How to make the reorganization without changing practically nothing. For example, let us take the coordination of the work between D. Kabalevskiy's laboratory and the artistic education of the sector of the scientific research institute. In other words, how to coordinate the incompatible.

Actually, another solution was possible. The newspaper cited an interesting statement by Yu.B. Aliyev, head of the music and dance sector of the NIIKhV:

"All you have to tell me is that one must work in the Kabalevskiy method and I will work in the Kabalevskiy method."

Obviously, no order has been issued "from above," for otherwise Yu.B. Aliyev's "psychological reorganization" would have been accomplished immediately.

Yet another curious statement was made at that conference. It too was described in the newspaper. N.A. Kushayev, the institute's party organization secretary, had estimated that about 1 million rubles had been spent on drafting the discarded curriculums. The party organizer submitted the following suggestion: In order for the state money not to be wasted, the curriculums should be put to some use; it is impossible for such an expensive product not to contain something useful.

Such a frank defense of the honor of the uniform is not all that frequent, particularly coming from a party organization secretary.

I asked the editors about the answer which the APN Presidium has sent to this sharp newspaper article. No answer had been received. I think that such an attitude toward criticism in the press on the part of the APN is not only non-party but also noneducational.

Our talk came to an end. It was long and difficult.

Naturally, the students were lucky. Everyone benefited, society and the state. The children are learning music as though they are learning creativity in the 25,000 schools of the Russian Federation. Outstanding composers and outstanding educators have been trained. The children are totally unaware of the type of bureaucratic thresholds which had to be crossed before true art could come to them.

Nevertheless, there are grounds for optimism. The reorganization of music education in the schools has begun. The new has made its way. Actually, why should it have made a way? It would be interesting to know how many other "close incidents" had taken place, whose initiators, as innovators, did not have such a strong character and will and inflexible faith in the necessity of their cause, and D.B. Kabalevskiy's high reputation? Who can estimate how much has been lost along this bureaucratic-red tape way? How much can we accomplish unless we learn to make drastic decisions?

Obviously, the APN Presidium is unwilling to learn although probably a great deal of speeches have been made at its sessions on psychological reorganization. One of the requirements of this reorganization, clearly formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, is the following: "It is time to stop engaging in unsuitable niceties where strictness and honesty and party conscience must be applied."

We parted. From the threshold I asked my final question:

[Question] Had this reorganization which you thought about at the beginning of the 1970s been suggested by a totally unknown innovative teacher, would the school students have today a new music curriculum?

[Answer] No. There would have been no program." The tone of the answer was not "Chopin-melancholic" but "Beethoven-angry."

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## Man of the New World: Concerns, Ideals, Values

### TAMILLA RZAYEVA'S CHOICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 89-92

[Article by L. Polonskiy]

[Text] Not even the old residents could remember such a snow storm--an icy wind which could knock a person down and the sudden snow which fell on Binagadi, which stopped street traffic and piled mounds around the lift tractors by the rigs undergoing repairs. The main high-tension power line snapped, the rocking shafts of the pumps stopped and the pumps froze at various depths. The pumping of oil stopped. For 6 long hours the sectors remained without electric power. In order to eliminate the consequences of the breakdown faster, Tamilla Rzaeva, party organization secretary at the oil field, called upon the party members to remain at their rigs throughout the night. She held no meeting on this matter. Her suggestion was passed along. Most non-party members as well did not leave the field. Komsomol members turner Salekh Zamanov, survey operator Anzhela Akopyan, and geological technician Ziyafat Mamedova began to clear the approaches to the rigs from the snow, despite the darkness.

Volunteers worked at the oil field intensely for more than 24 hours. Their selfless efforts helped to prevent many wells from stopping. During those difficult hours Tamilla Rzaeva set an example to all. Calm, concentrated, efficiently and without delay she made decisions, saw to it that in the brigade "culture booths" the people could warm themselves up around homemade little gas stoves and drink a hot cup of tea. She was the last to leave the field and go home.

Her fellow workers were amazed. How did this young woman have such energy, strength and endurance? She was dead tired but did not show it.

The following day, when it became clear that some of the pumps were drawing water instead of oil and that the flow of petroleum was blocked by compressed sand, Tamilla suggested to the party members to take over the worst damaged wells. She personally pledged to see to normalizing the work of seven of them. This was a tall order. However, she deemed it her duty to do everything she could for the sector where she worked to be once again in the leading ranks. She had to do it, for life at the oil field was a particle of her own life. It was here that she had developed from a greenhorn to a

skilled specialist famous throughout the republic. It was here that she had become a communist. The honor of the oil field was her own honor.

Twelve years ago, Tamilla Rzayeva was at a crossroads. After graduating from the school, she was working as a secretary in a reputable institution. However, this work did not satisfy her. With increasing frequency the girl was thinking about her future. At home, her mother had frequently described to her the oil fields and the petroleum workers. She proudly showed her hands with marks the petroleum had left: "Daughter, I have extracted a great deal of oil from the depths!" She had never forgotten her mother's recollections of the war, when the 15-year old girl Shovket-Khanum had gone to work at the oil fields. The people worked without sparing their forces and for weeks on end did not go home, sleeping at the wells.

Today as well the work of the petroleum workers, despite the new equipment, remains hard. In the office where Tamilla worked, her coevals referred to it scornfully: dirty and monotonous, low paid and the people at the fields were not interesting. Rzayeva felt insulted for the sake of her mother and her mother's comrades, whom the girl knew and deeply respected, considering them purposeful and dedicated people, fiercely loyal to their work. Finally, she could stand it no longer.

Her superiors, who valued a zealous and good worker, were amazed when she submitted her resignation, thinking that this was merely a whim. She was talked into staying but she held on, saying that she wanted to do some real work.

When Shovket-Khanum was young the wells were producing a great deal more: one or two wells were yielding as much petroleum as is extracted today by the entire section where Tamilla went to work. The rich gushers, the blue-black oil caps over the rigs, are now part of the legend. The oil field and the section have wells whose debit is measured not in tons but in hundreds of kilograms only. Naturally, Tamilla could have chosen the young offshore deposits, where she would have participated in the discovery of new oil and the development of major resources. The powerful mobile offshore rigs are on the water: gigantic crane-ships, helicopters flying over circular steel islands, underwater television, and petroleum and gas pipelines strung along the bottom. At one point, having heard that workers were needed at the famous Neftyanyny Kamny, she almost went there. However, she caught herself on time, she ignored her own doubts, telling herself that in Binagadi you were born and grew up side-by-side with the old oil rigs. It is here that your father and mother are working. And, something important, the Binagadi fields are producing a special type of oil, free from sulfur and paraffin, used in making most valuable lubricants and other petroleum products greatly needed by the national economy.

Tamilla was welcomed warmly at the oil fields. She was helped in getting used to the work and learned the fine points of the operation. She read a number of technical books, sought the advice of experienced operators who clearly explained how to "care" for the wells, and how to detect even the slightest deviations from the operation. In a few months the girl mastered the skill of operator and later a time came when she felt that she was thoroughly

knowledgeable and was able to make independent decisions and even help others if needed.

Her comrades valued Tamilla's persistence and hard work and her innate feeling of duty and great emotional responsiveness. It was there, at the oil field, that she joined the party and justifiably earned a reputation as one of the best operators. She graduated from the evening Marxism-Leninism University. Four years ago, Rzayeva was elected party buro secretary.

panel at the field's office. Operator Rzayeva and her fellow-brigade members have been assigned 80 pumping wells. It is said in the collective that people feel more relaxed when Tamilla is on duty at the panel. Accurately, with extreme precision, she conducts the dynamometric operation of the wells--determining their operational parameters and measuring the output. Without delay the data are transmitted to the section, which helps to improve the optimal work system at all points.

However, the ground frequently comes up with surprises. Automatic machines and electronic systems break down and instruments are unable to react instantly to a changed situation. At that point, Tamilla resorts to computations which she compares with the figures on the recording printer. She is well-familiar with the "nature" of dozens of wells and fills information gaps with an intuition which sometimes amazes even brigade veterans.

Naturally, in such cases it would have been better to rely more on instruments. Scientists and instrument makers have long been promising an improved panel. However, for the time being not even a shadow of such a panel exists....

Rzayeva does not fear responsibility. Quite recently, in the absence of the foreman, she detected an irregularity at well No 577. After consulting with Raziya Khanum Azimova, Valentina Fedorovna Goncharova and Grigoriy Alekseyevich Konkin, Tamilla quickly adopted a plan for action. The worn-out parts of the pumping jack were replaced and a hole was drilled in the discharge line. Grigoriy Alekseyevich, a powerful man, removed without help the six-pood motor and replaced it with the reserve motor, without taking the women away from the other urgent operations.

Last year was a difficult one for the section and the entire oil field. Production fluctuated: sometimes the plan was fulfilled and overfulfilled and sometimes it was not. The snow storm of January caused a great deal of trouble. However, Rzayeva and her fellow-brigade members were able to repair the damaged wells and to fulfill their annual assignment. Extraction from the wells supervised by Tamilla increased.

Being someone who could work with dedication and lead the people, and an active party leader, she was elected by the party members to be their delegate to the Baku city party conference and the 31st CP of Azerbaijan Congress. At the 27th CPSU Congress, delegate Rzayeva was made member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

Back from Moscow, addressing a meeting of petroleum workers on the results of the congress, Rzaeva described its atmosphere, the importance of the decisions which were made, the future of the development of the petroleum industry and the tasks facing the oil field; she spoke of the work under new conditions.

"We are quite conscientious," Tamilla said, "yet we are short of true concern and activeness. Sometimes we just wait for instructions from above.... We do not have to look far for examples. In proclaiming the next month a month of struggle against petroleum losses, we willingly and unanimously adopted this project. However, every day and without reminders, we must strictly see to it that there is order in the section and prevent even the slightest leak from pipes and containers. Economy in major and minor things are today one of the most important trends in our work."

favorable changes are already visible in the collective. The petroleum workers are finding and utilizing reserves to which no attention was paid previously. In the first year of the new 5-year period both the section and the oil field as a whole have been fulfilling confidently their assignments. Thanks to intensive work extraction has increased noticeably. Five wells, which had been written off as virtually hopeless, were restored to life by the section's petroleum workers.

The concept of "exhausted deposit" is quite relative. To this day, substantial fuel reserves remain in the ground of Binagadi. It is no easy task to take to the surface this heavy settled mass. Soon after the 27th CPSU Congress I had the opportunity to meet with Rzaeva at the oil field. She shared her thoughts on how if not to rejuvenate, at least substantially to activate the old Binagadi area.

"We are now drawing up measures. We literally nurse along all wells without exception. A qualitatively new approach is needed. In our circumstances acceleration means converting the group of wells to the more profitable compressor method, and extending the time between repairs. We must mandatorily and more daringly drill for residual petroleum.... The main thing, however, is to apply the tertiary exploitation method. But it is precisely at this point that there is a hitch...."

Rzaeva had touched a sore spot. Of late a great deal is being spoken and written about the tertiary method. This implies activating the static mass of oil, somehow to push it into the underground pipes. To this effect, water or steam under pressure is applied to the seams, with chemical additives. Or else a cursing fire is set underground, which makes it possible to revive and old deposit. The trouble is that the progressive extraction method is being applied sluggishly. As a rule, it takes 4 to 5 years from design to practical implementation...

Tamilla discussed other difficulties as well. She was quite concerned, for example, by the fact that so far the economic managers are tolerating obsolete equipment in capital and underground repairs and that manual labor is predominant in this service. Yet the deep pumps which do not last even half the guaranteed time, cause a great deal of trouble! There is a shortage of

good repairmen at the oil fields and many of them have to do the work of three people.

The people work with dedication. In speaking of her comrades, Rzayeva emphasized that all of them care for their honor as workers and act according to their conscience. During the time she has spent at the field she cannot recall a single case in which people have been slack or have carried a "false bottom" suitcase, or been hoarders (in oil drilling all sorts of items are in short supply). The Baku petroleum workers are of a different mold: they have inherited from previous generations a great and demanding legacy. This protects them from corrosive money grubbing and arrogance. Yet, management rarely communicates with such people and does not listen to their views. It would be probably beneficial, Rzayeva believes, if managers--party, soviet, economic--establish closer contacts with the family of workers and constantly seek its advice.

The primary party organization secretary has a great deal of work, however, which increased even further after Rzayeva was elected deputy to the republic's supreme soviet. In implementing the voters' instructions, she has achieved a great deal in improving the working and living conditions of petroleum workers. One of her main concerns today is environmental protection. Managers of enterprises in the vicinity of the oil field have already been made aware of how strict and inflexible Rzayeva could be in such matters.

"She is a fighter," said Aslan Nasirov, head of the second oil field, speaking of Tamilla.

This was a reference to the struggle in which Rzayeva is engaged against the management of the steel smelting plant in the vicinity. The plant was designed and built in haste; no one even bothered to make the smokestacks higher than the shops. As a result, harmful releases literally cover the roofs of the buildings. The gilavar, the southern wind, drives the smoke over the oil field; khazri, the northern wind, carries it to the settlement imeni Kirov. Wherever there is casting there is slag. In the past, a remote area, 30 kilometers away from the enterprise, had been used to dump waste. However, the drivers of slag hauling trucks would rather not travel that distance and dump their loads on oil fields--along the roads and near the rigs and reservoirs. Approaches to the wells are obstructed and engineering facilities disappear under the dumps.

Tamilla discussed this problem a number of times with the plant director and mentioned this unfortunate slag at conferences. The director politely listened to her arguments and presented his own: "Ecology is ecology, and I too would like the air over Apsheron to be like that of Kislovodsk. The oil field has its plan and so does the plant. We are not being given sufficient transportation facilities and fuel." Rzayeva turned to the sanitary-epidemiological station for help. The station shared her indignation and fined the plant and did no more. One cannot close down even for a day a production facility which supplies castings to all machine building enterprises in Baku.

Tamilla sought the advice of the republic's Gosplan and Gossnab and addressed meetings of the planning-budgetary commission of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. It was decided to accelerate the reconstruction of the steel smelting plant and not to dump waste at random on the oil fields but to use it as a secondary resource.

"The oil rigs in the Binagadi area are not forever," Rzayeva says. "The time will come to recultivate the land and this will be accomplished the more successfully the less we pollute the territory today. Thick and shady parks and gardens will be laid out, with shining dew on the grass in the morning...."

Gardens and parks are not in the least the result of Tamilla's rich imagination. Give this land some care and water and it will reward you generously! Even today splashes of green can be seen around the sector's "culture booths" and the field's office buildings and workshops. Cypress, pine, horse chestnut, willow and mulberry trees grow not far from the rigs. In the section where Tamilla works they have even been able to grow grape vines and fruit trees, such as cherries, apricots, figs, pomegranates...

Like many petroleum workers in the area, Rzayeva lives in the cozy landscaped settlement imeni Kirov. However, it so happened that ever since extraction in Binagadi dropped, the settlement has become worn-out and neglected. As deputy to the republic's supreme soviet, T. Rzayeva deems herself obligated to observe voters' instruction: to improve the living conditions of petroleum workers. She insisted on having a new boiler room built and improved heating for the houses; she succeeded in having the road to the park asphalted and the streets properly lit. She raised the question of building a proper market place. Her intervention accelerated the completion of a hospital, and recently a family hospital was completed.

The housing problems remains acute. Rzayeva is sincerely saddened and troubled whenever she is unable to help people who address themselves to her. Let us point out that Tamilla's housing situation is difficult. She lives with her parents and two adult brothers in a two-room apartments, totaling 25 square meters. She considers that morally she does not have the right to a more spacious residence, as others live under even worse situations.

Having chosen the profession of petroleum worker, Tamilla completed the evening department of the Foreign Languages Institute. In her leisure time she reads foreign authors in the original. However small her apartment may be, Tamilla keeps adding to her library. An American journalist, who talked with Rzayeva at the Azerbaijan office of the Novosti Press Agency, hardly expected to discuss modern English literature. The guest asked parliamentary deputy Tamilla Nariman Kyzy Rzayeva to describe her life in greater detail and to speak of the place of women in the republic's labor and social life.

Tamilla spoke little about herself but more willingly about her friends--Samir Mamedova, a worker at the air conditioners plant and correspondence graduate of the Higher Trade Union School, and Sevil Allakhverdiyeva who, until recently, like Tamilla, was a section operator and now, after completing her training at the Petroleum and Chemical Institute, is department engineer.

at the section, Tamilla spent several hours at the dispatcher's panel. The dimensions of the repaired wells had to be specified and a program for their exploitation formulated. Unless there were errors in the computations, yields would increase. Tamilla was cheered by the thought that this forthcoming victory, although small on the scale of the Kirov petroleum extraction area, would be a pleasant thing.

Making the proper choice in life is very important...

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## IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: EXPERIENCE, ACHIEVEMENTS, PROBLEMS

### REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF ACHIEVEMENTS, OPTIMISTIC VIEW ON THE FUTURE: NOTES FROM THE 10TH PZPR CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 93-105

[Article by Ye. Bugayev, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The title of this article reflects the overall impression of the proceedings of the 10th PZPR Congress, which was held from 29 June to 3 July 1986. Convincing reasons for this quite deliberate conclusion were provided by the PZPR Central Committee report "The Party's Tasks in Socialist Development and Strengthening of the People's Republic of Poland," submitted by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, the speeches made by the delegates to the congress, the study of the first program in the history of that party, the resolution adopted at the congress on the PZPR Central Committee report and the approval by the congress of a draft plan for the socioeconomic development of the PNR for 1986-1990 and until 1995.

The author of this article, who was assigned to go to Poland by the editors, attended the congress and spoke with its delegates: an honored miner, a professor, a party worker, a journalist, and working people in other economic sectors. He also visited Torun Province. Following are notes on the forum of the Polish communists without, naturally, claiming a full coverage of its proceedings and the problems discussed at it.

The reason for which the PZPR Congress drew such great attention on the part of the world public was that it brought to light a number of contradictions and difficulties in the establishment of the new socioeconomic system in the course of the contemporary global revolutionary process.

We know that the characteristics of Polish domestic development and the errors made by the former PZPR leadership in the areas of social and economic policy in the 1970s led to a certain alienation of the party from the masses and, above all, from its social base--the working class. This contributed to the consolidation and enhancement of all antisocialist elements within the country and triggered uncertainty in the Polish labor movement and its political vanguard. All of this was used in organizing a lengthy and, one must say, skillful and well-planned struggle against the foundations of socialism in Poland, taking into consideration failed attempts in other countries. This

was a struggle organized, inspired and financed by the centers of imperialist propaganda and intelligence.

The combination of adverse domestic and foreign factors created an economic, political and moral crisis in the country, a crisis so deep that it even became necessary to impose temporarily martial law to forestall chaos.

For a number of years, after the familiar events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Poland became the main testing grounds in which, under the new circumstances, the imperialists tried the new means of struggle against world socialism. We must admit that here they achieved tangible successes in organizing a "sliding counterrevolution," which threatened to develop into an open social conflict which would make it possible, as they hoped, to remove Poland, meta,horically speaking, from the ring of the socialist countries.

The 10th PZPR Congress gave a clear and unequivocal answer to the basic question of the country's future development. The answer was simple: Poland will firmly follow the path of socialism. Despite foreign leadership and aid, the antisocialist elements were unable to loosen the grounds of private ownership trends and individualistic mentality and to contaminate the people with the stereotypes of bourgeois thinking and way of life to an extent which would make it possible to convert the idea of a return to capitalism from a hope to the point of making a real effort for its restoration.

The relevance and seriousness of this problem were confirmed, among other, also by the fact that the congress was attended not only by 107 delegates of fraternal communist and worker parties, revolutionary-democratic, socialist and social democratic parties and national liberation and other progressive movements and organizations, but also by more than 300 accredited journalists, ranging from to communist to extreme reactionary news organs.

Neither boosterism nor depression prevailed at the conference. Sadness was expressed at the errors committed in the past, skillfully used by the enemies of socialism, which had brought about tremendous economic and moral and political losses, the consequences of which are being felt today and, in all likelihood, will be long felt in all areas of material and spiritual life. However, there was also the firm conviction that the most dangerous stage in the socialist history of the Polish people, in the history of the PZPR, was behind them. What lay ahead was the difficult yet essentially realized work aimed at strengthening the socialist system, accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and enhancing the material well-being of the people.

The proceedings of the congress were given a thorough coverage in the periodical press, for which reason these notes will deal only with problems of particular interest to Soviet communists and to all friends of the Polish people in the Soviet Union and are, furthermore, a topic of constant speculation on the part of the enemies of people's Poland.

#### Policy of 'Accord, Struggle and Reform'

Today this formula, which is quite popular in Poland, and which was drafted at the 9th Congress, has actually become the slogan of the 10th PZPR Congress.

Accord by whom and with whom? Above all, naturally, between the active fighters for socialism, the Polish communists, and anyone who puts the interests of the Polish people and state above group and personal egotistical interests, even if such people do not agree in all things with PZPR ideology and politics and have their own viewpoint on one economic, social or moral problem or another. The PZPR does not consider in the least an agreement as unanimity in everything and by everyone, remembering that at the present stage of building socialism in Poland, there are antagonistic contradictions. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against all deliberate opponents of socialism, who are fighting against it and, in this case, do not shy at betraying the interests of the homeland and, as PNR Minister of National Defense Florian Siwicki said, against "professional revisionists." Reform means eliminating all that is obsolete, that hinders the normal functioning of economic and state life, that hinders social progress, and encouraging all that contributes to its acceleration.

The realities of Poland were taken into consideration. As W. Jaruzelski noted, at a time when the other socialist countries were confidently advancing, although at a different pace, Poland had suffered a tremendous harm and had lost a great deal of valuable time. That is why priority was given to the following sociopolitical task: to achieve the unification of all working people by continuing the policy of "accord, struggle and reform."

A thorough study was made at the congress of the situation in all areas of activity of Polish society and of changes which had taken place in the country's economic and sociopolitical life. The lessons which the PZPR had drawn from the events of the past and which were applicable to all ruling Marxist-Leninist parties were substantiated and thoroughly described by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the congress, as head of the CPSU delegation.

At the same time, the congress' documents and the numerous suggestions submitted at its commissions and sections, received from the local areas and discussed in the course of its proceedings, were aimed at the future.

As the report stated, "The party experienced a severe trial. It surmounted feelings of defeat, ideological chaos and organizational weakening. It declared war on anything which hinders the full utilization of the opportunities of socialism, undermines the principles of our social system, hinders and pulls us back, and causes bitterness and disillusionment."

It was this clear and confident position that united the party (and, around it, the majority of working people), and ensured the preparations for and successful proceedings of the 10th Congress, which marked the country's emergence from a path of harshest confrontations and antagonisms to that of renovation of all aspects of social life on a socialist basis.

The PZPR Central Committee report, the party program and the congress' resolution leave no doubt whatsoever in this respect.

"Naturally, the objective of our party," the PZPR program stipulates, "is communism. Our immediate objective is to build socialism, the first phase of

the communist system, the total establishment of socialist social relations in all areas of social life."

Strengthening socialism is accepted as a firm trend in Polish development. The universal principles and values of socialism determined the main objectives of the PZPR program, which reflects the objective reality in which the party lives and works.

In the course of the pregress discussion, the following task was set to the party meetings: comprehensively to analyze achievements and gains and soberly to weigh all unfinished matters or anything that requires restructuring and to determine the stage at which the socioeconomic and political development of Polish society finds itself. The documents of the congress provide an answer to this as well. "Our country is at the final stage of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism," the PZPR program reads. "Firm foundations for socialism have been laid in the most important sectors. The socialist production method dominates in Poland. The political system is of a socialist nature. The Marxist-Leninist party plays a leading role in the state. However, historical changes have been uneven. In the base, and reflected in the superstructure, in addition to public ownership, which plays a decisive role, there is private ownership, above all that of petty commodity producers in agriculture and crafts and, to a small extent, petty capitalist ownership. This creates differences and even conflicts of interests."

Both the report and the documents adopted at the congress note that the working class is the leading force of socialist change in the PNR and that the PZPR represents, above all, its political and social interest. Since the objective of the working class "is consistent with the basic interests of all working people and expresses the interests of the people," it plays an unquestionable leading role in Polish society in exercising the power, based on the alliance among workers, peasants and intellectuals. That is why the PZPR solves problems related to shaping and exercising the power, together with the allied United Peasant Party (OKP) and the Democratic Party, which acknowledge the leading role of the working class and its party in the socioeconomic and sociopolitical development of Polish society. This precisely is the essence of the multiparty system, which has historically developed in the Polish socialist state. We are not fighting for power, W. Jaruzelski noted. We have never surrendered this power to anyone. However, we deem it our duty to include the allied parties in participation on all levels of power, from the Sejm and the cabinet, to the gmin and the city.

The congress' documents defined the strategy of economic development, based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the fastest possible use of new equipment and technology in production and the increased all-round cooperation and integration among socialist countries, within the system of which Poland has been and will remain a firm link.

The congress acknowledged as a historical necessity the acceleration of socioeconomic development, as a pivot of the fundamental stipulations of the PZPR program. The 5-year period until 1990 calls for a 16-19 percent increase in the national income, 16 percent in industrial output and 24 percent in capital investments. Compared to the previous 5-year period, per capita

consumption will increase by 9-11 percent. This will be accomplished while lowering the material- and power-intensiveness of items. In the course of the precongress discussion voices were heard calling for a higher pace of development. Others doubted the possibility of reaching the set rates. All such views were considered. Under conditions in which after the social and economic disorganization of 1980-1981 the country's income had dropped by 25 percent and a great stress was still felt in social relations, the planned increase in population food supplies by 12 percent and of industrial commodities by 17 percent is a difficult yet possible task.

In this area, the economic reform carried out in the PNR is called upon "to ensure the optimal combination between centralized planning and enterprise autonomy and profitable work, and for a review of all structural units of state management and the economic mechanism, cadre certification and increasing the direct participation of the working people in decisions made by management and means of utilization of the means of production," the brigade organization of labor, conservation, etc.

This does not mean transferring ownership of state enterprises to collectives but a means of enhancing the efforts of the working people and upgrading material incentive and responsibility to society for the results of their activities. The slogan of a "self-governing Rzeczpospolita," which was skillfully used by Solidarity, was anarcho-syndicalist counterrevolutionary stupidity, the PZPR Central Committee report to the 10th Congress noted. The idea of a local worker trade union self-government is a vitally important standard of socialist democracy. The task is for the legitimate possibilities of self-government to be used in full and to combine concern for the interests of the collective and each of its members with the national interests.

This is related to the problem of the trade unions. As we know, the trade union shell known as Solidarity, was used by its leadership as a weapon for destruction, based the principle: the worse the situation becomes, the better it is for the... counterrevolution. However, the workers soon were able to see through it and to turn away from the inflated Solidarity bureaucracy. Former Solidarity members are now participating in the development of the new trade unions. Many of them are members of the PZPR and were delegates to the 10th Party Congress. The Second Congress of the Polish Trade Union Agreement will be held soon. The position of the PZPR, expressed in 1982, was confirmed at the 10th Congress: "The trade union movement cannot and will not be an extension of the administration or an antisocialist political group. The new trade unions must be independent and totally self-governing."

The congress discussed in detail and set in the corresponding documents the most topical problems of social development, paying particular attention to observing the principle of socialist social justice. In particular, steps to lower inflation in the immediate future to less than 10 percent annually, were considered an urgent task.

Problems of culture were actively discussed, an area in which, as W. Jaruzelski said, "We surrendered a number of positions to the enemy." Regaining them will require the joint efforts of anyone who loves the Polish people and their culture, and who can take what is useful from the cultures of

other nations. At the same time, the penetration of the poisonous fruits of "mass culture" must be decisively blocked.

The policy of "accord, struggle and reform" was reflected in the PZPR statutes. It is precisely in this spirit that the changes in the statutes were made. For example, it was deemed expedient to emphasize that "in formulating programs and objectives of socioeconomic development of the country, the party is guided by the interests of the workers, combining them with the aspirations of the peasants and the intelligentsia." Also indicated was the need to be concerned with "having workers and peasants properly represented in party ranks and party bodies, in representative authorities and in self-governing organizations," and "creating under the party committees consultative worker groups with the participation of frontranking non-party workers and peasants." The holding of open meetings of primary party organizations and reducing the number of party members per primary party organization from five to three, were deemed necessary. The primary party organizations were granted "the right to shorten the candidate party probationary stage and the length of party seniority needed for the nomination of congress delegates, to party bodies and party control authorities and in promotion to political work within the party," etc.

#### The Foundations of Socialism Remain Firm

During the period of revival of antisocialist elements in the PNR in 1980-1982, anticommunist propaganda trumpeted throughout the world the collapse of the "Soviet model" of socialism in Poland. It does not know or, more accurately, does not want to know that there is no such model. Socialism is a social system characterized by common essential socioeconomic and political features. However, the way to socialism of each country has its own features.

One cannot choose a "model" of socialism like a pair of shoes or a suit. Furthermore, one does not buy a model but a specific item after seeing that it fits. The organization of a new type of social life for the people requires not some kind of "samples" of models but a thorough consideration of the conditions and features of one's own country, the study of the experience of friends and a consideration of international reality. This can be accomplished only by a party guided by the Marxist-Leninist dialectical-materialistic method of analysis, politically mature and organizationally united. Such was precisely the PZPR as it presented itself at its 10th Congress. Although Jaruzelski's and the congress' debates and resolutions spoke of existing differences in the views of party members, this is a reflection of the real conditions under which a party is working and the difficulty of setting priorities in the economic, social and political areas.

In all of these areas, however, the foundations of socialism honorably withstood their test of strength, although some deviations did take place.

Let us illustrate this with a few facts. The socialist (state and cooperative) sector accounted for 84.3 percent of the national income in 1980 and 79.8 percent in 1984. In 1984 it owned 78.4 percent of fixed assets in industry. It accounted for 98.5 percent in 1980 and 97.4 percent in 1984 of the gross industrial output. This occurred during the reorganization, which

is still taking place in the Polish national economy after the 1981-1982 upheavals. These figures are disliked by economists and sociologists who are trying to prove that petty private ownership is more efficient than large-scale socialist ownership.

The situation is different in agriculture. Here the share of the socialist sector in gross output was 11.2 percent in 1960, 22.7 percent in 1980 and 21.6 percent in 1984. However, let us remember that state farms and farm cooperatives accounted for 25.5 percent of the farmland in 1980 and 23.6 percent in 1984. In this case, as Kazimierz Czarnecki, secretary of the Torun Province PZPR Committee, explained, the cooperatives were set up by the poorest peasants, owners of the worst lands. This largely applies to the state farms organized on the state land, which had frequently been neglected and unused for many years.

In retail trade in general private entrepreneurs account for an insignificant share. (1.2 percent of trade in 1970 and 2.2 percent in 1984). Interestingly enough, the dominating positions here are held by cooperative trade (52.9 percent in 1970 and 70.3 percent in 1984). State trade accounted, respectively, for 45.9 and 27.5 percent of retail trade.

As a whole, 75 percent of the active population (45.6 percent workers) were employed in the country's socialized sector in 1984; 25 percent worked in the private sector, including 1.9 percent as hired labor, and 23.1 percent worked "for themselves." This 25 percent of the population is an extremely heterogeneous mass of petty and not quite petty owners, ranging from the poor person with 1.5-2 hectares of land, who frequently also works in a state enterprise (known as "workers-peasants"), to the prosperous and rich peasant who owns 30-50 (and, in the northwestern provinces, even more) hectares of land and hires manpower (farmhands), uses tractors and other complex agricultural machinery on his own land and in the cultivation of neighboring land in exchange for labor, which Lenin described as one of the vestiges of feudalism in postreform Russia.

After the congress the interparty task force of the PZPR and the Democratic Party (the party of the urban nonproletarian toiling strata--artisans, petty merchants and intellectuals) drafted with the participation of the Ministry of Finance, a report on private activities outside agriculture, entitled "Private Initiative Through the Lens of Facts." The data provide rich food for thought on the degree of difficulty under which the fraternal PZPR is operating. There are some 326,000 artisans, 152,000 private commercial enterprises (including those in consumer services), 90,000 privately owned passenger and freight taxi cabs, 16,000 enterprises engaged in freight hauling and 683 small foreign companies. Combined, they account for no more than 4 percent of the total volume of output. Despite prevailing concepts, whereas they account for no more than 2.4 percent of retail trade and 7.7 percent in public catering, they are quite significant in services--56.3 percent. Together with the peasantry, these "companies" constitute a many-faceted differentiated mass. Thus, 59.7 percent of the artisans are private craftsmen who are not exactly members of the petite bourgeoisie, but represent the nonproletarian urban toiling strata; 19.5 percent of the "companies" have two employees and 14.4 percent, 3-4. However, there also are private enterprises (0.3 percent of the

total), with a staff of more than 10 employees. Their owners do not belong to any toiling stratum or fit the concept of "petit bourgeois." The income of the various groups of such "private entrepreneurs" is polarizing rather than equalizing, which is inherent in petty commodity output.

The purpose of citing such data is to show the superficiality of statements made at the 8th PZPR Congress of total moral and political unity of the Polish people and unanimous support of PZPR policy. In a country with a mixed economy, where socialist changes have not been completed yet, such unity cannot exist. Conversely, the class struggle assumes a variety of forms. It is inevitable and natural, whereas the unanimous support of party policy by all strata and groups of people, a policy which represents the interests of the working class, is theoretically possible only on problems effecting national interest (for petty owners are also part of the people).

Bearing all this in mind, as we can see, the 10th PZPR Congress could draw with full justification the conclusion that socialism has firmly entered the life of the Polish people and that Poland will not abandon the socialist way of development. It is and will remain a reliable link in the economic and military-political alliances which unite the members of CEMA and Warsaw Pact. The entire proceedings of the congress were imbued with this conviction.

#### Complex Problems of the Polish Countryside

The situation in agriculture and its further development were discussed particularly extensively during the pre-congress debates and at the congress itself. Here as well opinions were by no means unanimous.

One of the points of the congress' resolutions deals with the future development of agriculture: "The 10th Congress fully approves and supports the agricultural policy formulated by the PZPR and the United Peasant Party in recent years. Taking into consideration the specifics in the development of socialist relations in agriculture, the party acknowledges the firm equality of all sectors. The PZPR, which assists the socialist reorganization in agriculture and in the countryside, notes that such changes can take place on the basis of the principle of full freedom of choice of means of farming."

This was also discussed in various talks in Poland. It was claimed that socialist changes in the countryside could wait and that as long as there is food and raw materials, the rest is of secondary importance. It is not my place to adjudicate this argument. However, the Polish communists heard views which were not especially pleasant. The party of the working class cannot arbitrarily, regardless of circumstances, set tasks which may be accurate from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint but unattainable under some conditions. Still, it does not ignore the final objectives of the working class--the leading force of social progress, whose vanguard it was and remains.

The Polish communists do not ignore existing reality. However, nor do they intend to perpetuate it.

Whereas in industry, retail trade and services the private sector is being pressed by the development and great competitiveness of the socialized

socialist sector (although in consumer services in particular this will demand extensive and long efforts), matters in farming are much more difficult.

We know that the hasty bureaucratic administration of the end of the 1940s and beginning of 1950s led to the establishment of a large number of agricultural production cooperatives in Poland which, lacking any new means of production, were unable to prove the advantages of socialized agriculture but instead frequently discredited the latter, turned out unviable and broke down almost ubiquitously in the second half of the 1950s. Although this was a long time ago, it was not long enough to be forgotten. We must also bear in mind that although land in Poland has been proclaimed the property of the whole nation, it was not nationalized and can be sold and bought. If, let us say, 30 out of 50 farms in a village decide to set up a farming cooperative, they cannot combine their lands. This situation is sometimes abused. Finally, the "zealous" peasant, who owns 20 to 30 hectares of land, and who deals as an equal with the various forms of ownership, who has no use for various decrees, orders and other papers, relying more on acquaintanceship and "material incentive" of the workers in state trade, will be the first to buy equipment, fertilizer and everything he needs, thus showing high productivity and the productivity of his farm and earning profits by selling a considerable share of his output at speculative prices. He does not expect a better life by joining a cooperative. The owner of a 4-5 hectare average-sized plot, in today's market situation, can earn a very decent living. However, the productivity of such a farm is extremely low as a whole.

For example, here is the way the problem was described at the congress by Michail Tarczinski, a peasant from the Zlobizna Gmina Brzeg, Opole Province, delegate to the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses (elected PZPR Central Committee member at both): "I took part in drafting the party's agrarian program. I believe that it should be implemented." However, he also said that, first of all, "the weak farmers are frequently forced to lease or sell their land to private or public farms;" second, that the Polish peasant cannot be considered responsible for the recent troubles and that if he is free from all kinds of regulations, the very next year meat rationing will no longer be necessary; third, he asked "not to envy anyone's prosperity if it is the result of good work." However, he also said that the party must put an end to money grubbing and machinations which can also make someone rich; it must do everything possible to help "those who handle machines, chemical fertilizers, and others, properly, and reduce prices of industrial commodities."

Here is another viewpoint. Witold Karwan, chairman of the board of the agricultural production cooperative in Osnowa, Torun Province, shared his experience with the new type of organization of the work of the private farmer. The party members who work in our cooperative, he said, relying on the experience of cooperative farmers in neighboring socialist countries, drafted, together with the Central Cooperative Union, new principles governing the status of cooperative farms. Private farmers can participate in joint work in united farms, without loss of ownership rights. The interest which peasants and cooperative farmers showed in the new farm management method surpassed all expectations. The number of cooperative farmers increased when 63 new members joined--specialists and private farmers owning 960 hectares of farmland. A great deal depends on the positive example set by the cooperative

farmers: on their attitude toward production organization, use of new technology, scientific and technical progress and steady progress in the social and living conditions of their families.

After criticizing shortcomings in supplying cooperative farms with equipment and unnecessary work regulations, he concluded as follows:

"I believe that we are not making full use of the opportunities of state and cooperative farms. Agriculture and the farm workers expect that the new resolutions to be adopted by the party will make it possible to bring to light the existing very significant production opportunities and ensure further social progress in the countryside."

As we can see, the views of these two peasants are quite different, as different as their socioeconomic status.

Kazimierz Charnecki, secretary in charge of agriculture and food industry of the Torun Province PZPR Committee, cited a number of arguments confirming the accuracy of Karwan's views. Farming cooperatives account for 23 percent of the 318,000 hectares of land cultivated in the province; state agricultural enterprises own 17 percent. Family farms (as the private farmers are known) average 8 hectares of land in this province, and they are underproductive.

As a result of the substantial efforts made by the party organizations in the province, whose soil is rated 18th (of 49 provinces), the province is in third place in terms of results of economic activities.

The talks held at the provincial committee and the Center for Scientific and Technical Progress in Agriculture were reinforced by talks at the farm cooperative in Gorsk village.

"In terms of size, our farm is not all that big: 4,169 hectares," said its chairman Zigmund Kryszczak. "We grow mainly grain and sugar beets. Our main income comes from the poultry farm, the feed for which we grow ourselves, after U.S. President Reagan included it in the 'sanctions.' The cooperative has 105 farms and 150 able-bodied people. Its 1985 income was 370,000 zloty per person, 80 percent of which from the poultry farm. We have established a procedure according to which elderly private farmers who contribute their land to the cooperative are given a pension and the longer they stay members of the cooperative the higher the pension becomes."

Neither the chairman of the board nor Tadeus Orczikowski, secretary of the party organization (consisting of 18 members and three candidate members of the PZPR) conceal the fact that their farm is not ordinary. It is the leading farm in the province and third-ranking in the country in terms of economic indicators, learning from and sharing its experience with the noted Rassvet Kolkhoz, Mogilev Oblast, on an annual basis. Both they and the provincial PZPR Committee secretary claim that on their land the cooperative farm can average 40 quintals of grain per hectare and, above all, entirely change the aspect of the village and the spiritual world of the population. The private farmer and his family work their plot from dawn to dusk, see no one and have not become accustomed to look beyond their fence.

The cooperative farm has a good club, an excellent cafeteria and consumer services. The people have both more free time and the possibility of using it sensibly. This explains the fact that socialist changes are spreading and, in the final account, will encompass the entire way of life of the rural population, as vividly seen by the large number of young people now joining the cooperatives.

However, the total reorganization of the countryside on a socialist basis is a matter which requires both time and thoughtful and cautious party and state work. The equal attitude toward the three forms of ownership in agriculture, as codified in the documents of the congress and the PZPR program, does not mean in the least that the party and government are indifferent to the socioeconomic, cultural and sociopolitical progress in the Polish countryside.

"The socialist changes favored by the PZPR are a confirmation of the ideas of social justice and cultural and social development of the countryside...", the PZPR program stipulates. "However, they will be achieved by the peasants only on the basis of a totally voluntary choice of farming system.... The party is concerned with the increased participation and significance of the socialized--state and cooperative--farms in meeting the food requirements of the people....and turning such farms into models for the peasants."

The congress deemed necessary the further development of democracy and self-government in agricultural cooperatives and territorial agencies; it spoke in favor of equalizing the living conditions of the urban and rural population. The Law on the Cooperatives should contribute to this.

#### That State and the Church

The delegates' speeches did not include the grave problem of the relationship between the state and the church; this problem was considered exhaustively in the PZPR Central Committee report to the congress and was clearly formulated in the party program and the congress' resolutions. The Central Committee's policy on this matter was unanimously approved and the efforts of Western journalists to "twist it around" at the daily press conferences given by leading party officials and experts, including at the final press conference given by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, crashed against the firm, clear and unequivocal view of the PZPR.

Ever since the People's Republic of Poland was founded, the party has invariably followed a line of loyal cooperation between Marxist and Roman Catholics and members of other religious faiths in building the new Poland. "The choice which was made then," the PZPR Central Committee report noted, "was the creative and realistic answer to one of the most important problems concerning our country's future: how to build socialism, a system based on the ideological and theoretical postulates of dialectical and historical materialism, a society in which the majority are practicing Catholics." The PZPR, as its program stipulates, is a socialist state which considers the cooperation of believers and of "churches and religious associations which develop in the faithful respect for labor and public property, for the law and the state authorities, and find a proper way to constructive participation in socialist reality."

The majority of the members of the Catholic clergy observe the laws and many of them are making valuable contributions to relations between the church and the state. However, there also are clergymen who profess antisocialist clericalism and whose activities harm Poland. "The exercise of the constitutional principles of the separation between church and state, and the freedom to perform religious ceremonies by churches and religious associations, freedom of conscience and belief and equal rights and obligations of citizens regardless of their attitude toward religion are a most important firm humanistic accomplishment of people's Poland," the PZPR Central Committee report reads. The formulation of decisions consistent with Polish conditions in this area was a difficult matter. As was pointed out at the congress, it did not exclude errors on the part of the authorities. "However, this was above all the consequence of pressures dating from the past, when the church was on the side of the rich classes. It tried to preserve its positions, for in prewar Poland a number of reforms made in the overwhelming majority of European countries, eliminating feudal vestiges, had not taken place," the Central Committee report emphasized.

Firmly holding dialectical-materialistic views on the laws of the development of nature, society and thinking (which does not exclude the presence of believers in the PZPR who, however, work for socialism), and considering the realities of the situation, the PZPR proclaimed quite firmly at its 10th Congress that it favors the broadening of relations between the state and the church and, at the same time, narrowing the area of contradictions and misunderstandings between the state and the church. "At the same time," the Central Committee report stipulates, "we expect and will demand respect of the constitution and laws of the People's Republic of Poland and the interest of the socialist state." Noting the need to oppose all efforts to use manifestations of religious life against the regime, law and order and the state interests of the People's Republic of Poland, and efforts to clericalize social life, the congress noted that "the party believes that not only the creation of strong relations with the Catholic church and the other religious associations but also their long-term interaction with the state in a number of areas of life, which are of vital importance to the interests of the entire people, are possible and necessary. In particular, areas of such interaction should include the struggle for peace as the greatest value of our people and all mankind, the spreading of civic valors and labor enthusiasm, opposing manifestations of social and moral evil, protecting the moral health of society, preserving national cultural monuments, and showing concern for the human habitat and the beauty of nature, health care and social assistance."

#### Clear Line in Foreign Policy

The question of international relations and foreign policy of the People's Republic of Poland was among those discussed by literally every participant in the debates in the congress and during the precongress conferences and meetings. Here the opinion was unanimous. Like all Soviet people, our readers know that there is total unanimity of views between the CPSU and the PZPR and the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland on foreign policy problems. Poland fully supports all Soviet initiatives, including those of M.S. Gorbachev's 18 August 1986 declaration and his answers to the questions of the editor in chief of the newspaper RUDE PRAVO. Let us

therefore only note that "the cornerstone of Polish foreign policy," as W. Jaruzelski pointed out in his speech, "is the inviolable alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. This is a historical gain of our peoples. The situation in the past was different and the fate of Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians frequently became tangled in a tragic knot. An end has been put to such historical events once and for all. This is a historical merit of our parties--the PZPR and the CPSU." Every Pole who loves his homeland could put his signature under these words, which were frequently repeated in different combinations in the speeches of delegates--miners, scientists, peasants, physicians and members of different generations--and in private talks.

"On Strengthening the Ties Between Poland and the Socialist Community. On Active Participation in the Struggle for Peace," was the heading of the special section of the resolution adopted at the congress.

Cooperation and alliance with CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, strengthening relations with developed countries, organizing mutually profitable economic and cultural ties and struggling for peace are the foreign policy course of the People's Republic of Poland, as defined at the 10th PZPR Congress.

Comrade Jaruzelski recalled a simple objective truth: peaceful coexistence is needed, and even more so the prevention of nuclear war in which there would be neither winners nor losers. A number of global problems exist--ecological, energy, struggle against hunger and disease--which no system can solve alone: "There is no longer capitalism but socialism is still not here, although its possibilities are growing steadily." The congress condemned the unparalleled slander in terms of scope, rudeness and cynicism, interference in domestic affairs and economic ostracism, which the United States and some of its allies have tried to practice toward Poland. As was noted at the congress, the considerable foreign debt, which was the result of an erroneous policy in terms of amounts and use of loans from capitalist countries, increased as a result of economic pressure and anti-Polish "sanctions." "The losses which we suffered as a result of such sanctions," W. Jaruzelski noted, "equal one-half of the country's debt. This was the hardest economic blow ever struck against a country in peacetime, and a historically unprecedented case in which the creditor deliberately hindered the borrower from repaying his debt." The delegates unanimously emphasized the total futility of all efforts to frighten Poland and bring it down on its knees. The Poles, as the entire world knows, are a proud and freedom-loving people. They are part of the powerful alliance of socialist countries and can defend their homeland well against any encroachments, with suitable military skill and courage.

For 5 years the party aktiv has worked (not because it had to, but out of concern for the cause) on the ideological and organizational unification of its ranks and for purging itself from selfish people and careerists, to convince those who hesitate and to help the doubters believe in the strength of the party. And, above all, to restore the weakened faith of the working people in the party of the working class. The congress proved that this labor had yielded its initial results. Party work has been revived, and the activeness of the party members has increased. For the first time, before the congress talks were held with all PZPR members and candidate members; more

than 1 million party members participated in meetings on the draft program which came out at the beginning of February 1986 (actively under consideration since 1984). By the end of 1985 more than 1 million of the 2,115,400 party members had participated in the discussions. Some 800,000 non-party members, 100,000 of whom participated in the debates, attended the meetings.

This is a most important indicator of the strengthened positions of the PZPR leadership and the party at large, and of the growth of its reputation and its efforts to regain the faith of the working class. The fact that the process of the party's strengthening is not an illusion but a real phenomenon in social life is confirmed by the fact alone that whereas between 1 June 1981 and 31 December 1985 party membership declined by 709,000 people (832,879 dropped out and 123,807 joined), in 1985 the number of new party members exceeded for the first time the number of people who had dropped out or been expelled. Particularly indicative is the fact that during that time workers accounted for 45 percent of new PZPR members and candidate members. During the second half of 1981 661 people aged 18 to 29 joined the party; their number rose to 4,320 in 1982 and 30,965 in 1985. This proves better than anything else the strengthened leading role of the PZPR and its reputation among the people.

The beneficial influence of the resolutions of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 17th CPSU Congress on the nature of the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress and the discussions of the draft PZPR program and other precongress materials were invariably mentioned in talks with the delegates to the congress, party workers of Torun Province, and people in universities and in agricultural cooperatives.

The 10th PZPR Congress reflected that the party's optimistic view on the future of the country. This optimism is based on the faith of the party in the working class, the strength of the alliance between workers and peasants, trust in the Polish intelligentsia and, finally, the patriotism of the Polish people, who want Poland to prosper, to be well-governed and to occupy a suitable place among the other members of the socialist community and in Europe and the rest of the world.

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## CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

### KOMMUNIST COMMENTARY: THE ANTINUCLEAR PROCESS AT A NEW STAGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 106-109

[Text] An intensive political struggle is developing in the world on the subject of war and peace and, essentially, on that of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and preserving life on the planet. Sharp discussions are taking place and conflicting viewpoints are clashing. These days as well they are focused on the principle-minded and constructive ideas stated in the 18 August declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the efficient steps formulated in this most important foreign political document on ending the arms race and, above all, relative to the decision of the Soviet leadership for another, a fourth extension of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. The declaration, which met with the broadest possible response everywhere and triggered an endless flow of reactions and comments, once again drew the attention of the world public to the most topical and basic problems of the present international situation. One could say that it inaugurated a new stage in the political and ideological confrontation between the forces of peace and war on a global scale.

Our party, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo are continuing their intensive creative studies of the new trends and changes in the situation and for creating maximally favorable conditions for the implementation of the life-asserting concepts of the 27th CPSU Congress. Having formulated a thorough and comprehensively substantiated concept for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security, the party of Soviet communists is tirelessly working on perfecting it on the basis of occurring changes, bringing to light its basic ideas on various practical levels and persistently seeking ways for their implementation.

M.S. Gorbachev's answers to the questions of the editor in chief of the newspaper RUDE PRAVO are another positive contribution by the Soviet Union to the sharp and excited discussion on current topical problems which is taking place in all continents. These answers explain the course and sum up the preliminary results of the worldwide comments on the 18 August declaration and provide a greater explanation of a number of its most important concepts and exhaustive answers to questions which arise in this connection among the world public. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary comprehensively described the situation which has developed today, above all in the area of

Soviet-American relations. He provided a thoroughly supported comprehensive rebuttal to the propaganda sallies of the enemies of normalizing international relations and a weighed and basically optimistic assessment of prospects of international developments. As the answers note, a new type of political thinking is making its way through obsolete prejudices and concepts and heaps of lies about the "Soviet menace."

Unquestionably, a positive evaluation clearly prevails in the vast amount of responses heard throughout the world to the latest foreign policy steps taken by the Soviet Union. How to explain this? What is it that draws the particular attention to and support of the broad circles of the international public for the Soviet foreign policy course?

This includes, above all, the scale and responsibility shown in the approach taken by the USSR to the basic problems of our time and the assessment of the current international situation, the comprehensive consideration of the needs of the historical moment and the feelings and expectations of the people's masses. The new style of political thinking, so urgently demanded by the CPSU of the global community of states and peoples, and the innovative methods of action, proceeding from the conceptual foundations of such thinking and dictated by the awareness that the arms race and the development of military ordnance have approached a critical point cannot fail to exert a most profound influence on anyone seriously concerned with the fate of mankind.

This is also due to the fact which has impressed global public opinion, that Soviet foreign policy takes reality comprehensively into consideration and relies on cooperation between politics and science, which has now become an essential factor not only of production forces but also of social relations. As our party points out, today no science must ignore the political consequences of a discovery or accomplishment, in the same way that no policy should ignore the achievements of science, strict scientific analysis or objective assessments and forecasts.

Finally, this includes the practicality of the new Soviet initiatives instead of declarations, i.e., the proclamation of intentions. The progressive public could not fail to pay attention to the fact that today there is no shortage of declarations by political leaders stating their support of peace but there is an obvious shortage of specific actions aimed at strengthening its foundations. The peoples are tired of rhetoric. They expect specific actions, actions which are broad and serious and which can clear the dumps created by the arms race.

In further extending the moratorium on nuclear explosions--a decision which, for understandable reasons, was not an easy one for the country's leadership--the Soviet Union helped to strengthen the trend toward reason and common sense in world politics. This trend can be developed and strengthened any time by signing an agreement on the reciprocal banning of nuclear tests and taking other daring steps in solving due and overdue problems. "I believe that we have already entered the second phase of the global antinuclear process," M.S. Gorbachev noted in this connection, "a phase not only of hopes but also of realistic plans and consequent specific actions. Indeed, the silence at Soviet nuclear testing grounds, which has lasted for more than a year, as

realistically thinking observers throughout the world have noted, has largely contributed to the creation of a new atmosphere in international relations and drawn the attention of the peoples throughout the world to the task of total and universal ending of nuclear explosions.

The question may be asked: Is such an assessment excessively optimistic?

Actually, ever since the Soviet-American November 1986 summit, despite all the efforts of the USSR the two countries have not come at all closer to an agreement on the reduction of armaments. While the Soviet Union is submitting broad initiatives which above all meet the most profound expectations of the peoples, and one after another are fully consistent with the new political way of thinking, the overall picture of the entire post-Geneva policy of the Reagan administration remains a matter of concern. Its formulation of military programs is taking place on the level of a new scientific and technical round in the arms race and in the presence of armament arsenals which could destroy civilization in a few days. According to the military commentators of THE WASHINGTON POST, a new generation of nuclear weapons is being developed, which "will have substantially greater advantages over the hydrogen bombs than hydrogen bombs had over atom bombs." At the same time, the American authorities are psychologically preparing the population for a possible military conflict involving the use of nuclear weapons.

All this is true. We know from historical experience that sober assessments of events make their way with great difficulty through the thick layer of prejudices and preconceptions in the thinking of the Western ruling class. We do not have illusions concerning the ability of the huge propaganda machine of militarism to heap on the people rivers of stupefying disinformation. To this day, barely recovered after the shock caused by the 18 August declaration made by the Soviet leader, the Western reactionary circles, the American above all, have been rushing down the beaten track of labeling the Soviet action as "propaganda" and thoroughly belittling its significance.

The Soviet renunciation of nuclear tests until the beginning of next year is beginning to be considered primarily not in terms of the essence of the matter but in the context of its impact on the possibility of another Soviet-American summit. "Hidden" reasons are being sought which could allegedly motivate the USSR not to conduct tests; it is claimed that neither the Soviet moratorium nor the bilateral agreement reached with the United States on this matter would yield any practical results in solving the nuclear disarmament problem. Furthermore, by turning facts upside down, even THE NEW YORK TIMES, a newspaper which considers itself respectable, deems it possible seriously to claim that a total ban of nuclear tests could, in the final account, become an "opportunity for the arms race rather than for restraining it." Innumerable such absurd versions have been launched.

Our country states clearly and categorically that such matters are too serious to play semantic games with them or to use sophistry to please the bosses of the American military-industrial complex. The more so since in this case we are seeing not a mental inertia which, under certain circumstances, could not be excused in the least, or a lagging behind the headlong changes in global circumstances, but a deliberate misrepresentation of arguments. Until 1980,

when the West terminated the corresponding trilateral talks, Washington and London considered a universal and total ban on nuclear weapons tests necessary and possible. What has changed since then? "To answer this briefly," writes the British Sunday newspaper THE OBSERVER, "President Reagan became convinced that he would be more likely to achieve more by testing rather than halting the tests." A delusion, one should say, which is not only wrong but also fraught with most dangerous consequences.

We assess the situation realistically but are by no means pessimistic, although we clearly realize the difficulty and length of the struggle ahead of us. Of late the tremendous potential for peace, reason and goodwill, which is a powerful counterweight to the aggressive imperialist policy, has tangibly expanded and strengthened. The public is increasingly realizing the reality of the nuclear threat and its qualitatively new deadly parameters, should the Americans succeed in involving the world in a space arms race.

The activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state to implement the foreign policy stipulations of the 27th Party Congress are of unquestionable and determining significance in strengthening the new style of political thinking. The Soviet program for a world free from nuclear weapons is meeting with the growing recognition of the broad popular masses and drawing the attention of politicians and public figures. The peoples, including those in the countries whose governments still consider weapons and war as political means, are becoming increasingly aware of the need for strengthening world peace.

The fraternal members of the socialist community warmly support the actions of the Soviet Union aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war and strengthening universal peace. They show their active solidarity with the Soviet Union, considering such actions a structural component of the general socialist line in the world arena. Unconditionally rejecting war as a means of solving conflicts and quarrels among countries, they generously enrich mankind with the ideas of peace and specific plans and suggestions aimed at improving international life. The ideas and concepts developed in M.S. Gorbachev's 18 August declaration met with the warm approval and support of the members of the community. Highly rating the political initiatives of its allies and friends and their activeness in the struggle for a new type of political thinking and efforts to solve the problems of peace, security and disarmament, in turn, the Soviet Union greatly values their views and takes them most thoroughly into consideration in the formulating its foreign political actions.

It is obvious today that the overwhelming majority of governments, political and social leaders and simple people in all countries are decisively speaking out in favor of an immediate end to nuclear tests. The communist parties and numerous political and social organizations and trade unions in Western countries have expressed their support of the Soviet moratorium and appealed to the United States to follow the Soviet example. The international organizations play a great role in mobilizing public support for the idea of a general moratorium; scientists from different countries and numerous men of culture are rendering this cause invaluable service with their professional knowledge and high personal reputation.

Subsequent to the appeal of the heads of the "Delhi Six," for taking decisive steps to prevent a nuclear war, an appeal was launched by the participants in the 8th Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries. Unquestionably, these questions will be the focal point of attention of the general debates at the 41st UN General Assembly session. Even the participants of the recently held meeting of the so-called "Trilateral Commission," recently held in Madrid--an informal association of members of political, business and scientific circles in the capitalist world, that same commission which, in the second half of the 1970s, played a very unseemly role in the efforts to undermine detente, launched by the imperialist military circles, have essentially distanced themselves from the views of the American military on problems of limiting the arms race.

Reality clearly proves the growing persuasiveness of the practical actions of the USSR, based on the new style of political thinking. The attitude toward nuclear testing is becoming a test of historical maturity and a testing stone for the foreign policy of the nuclear powers under these circumstances. It is in this area that the true nature and trend of a given policy comes to light on the basis of a decision which is essentially simple and, at the same time, reliably prevents the perfecting of nuclear weapons.

Indeed, what can the unwillingness to join the Soviet moratorium indicate? It indicates the aspiration to pursue the arms race, to shift it to outer space and to develop new and more advanced weapons or, in other words, to attain military superiority, relying on power and intending to resort to diktat and blackmail in solving international problems. This is one thing. It indicates fear of honest competition with a different social system in the areas of economics, democracy, culture, and the spiritual richness of human life, this is the second. The third is total scorn for the human habitat for the sake of satisfying the greedy interests of the bosses of the military-industrial complex. This accurately identifies all the subterfuges used by U.S. reactionary forces in opposing the efforts of international and sensibly thinking American circles to have Washington make a decision consistent with the basic interests of developments of the world and the American people.

The question has been formulated most directly and frankly in the latest Soviet foreign policy documents: at the present time no task is more urgent and important than ending all nuclear tests. Therefore, if the American side truly understands the fact that a nuclear war is inadmissible, something which has been repeatedly officially and solemnly declared by the president himself and by some members of his administration, and if the United States truly does not aspire to gain military superiority, there should be no essential obstacles to reaching a fair agreement on reducing and, subsequently, eliminating nuclear weapons, the first step toward which would be ending nuclear tests.

Here the problem of control is no obstacle. As has been repeatedly and also officially stated, the Soviet Union is agreeable to even the broadest possible forms of control--national and international, including on-site verification and the establishment of corresponding devices. Incidentally, the answers to the newspaper RUDE PRAVO include a special appeal to the U.S. President with the suggestion of setting up an international as well as a national system for

controlling the ending of tests, provided that this is also a control over the observance of specific agreements.

How realistic is the possibility of success in the efforts to end all nuclear tests? Let us recall that they are being stubbornly opposed by influential circles in the United States and some NATO countries commanding political positions, who favor the continuing rattling of our planet with nuclear explosions. Despite the fact that, as even the American press has acknowledged, such circles are encountering increasing difficulties in the discussions on tests, the planned program for explosions at the Nevada testing grounds is continuing to be strictly implemented. It is difficult to say what prevails here--the inability to abandon ephemeral hopes of achieving military superiority and economically "exhausting" the USSR or the inertia of the old mental stereotypes about problems of security, based on the groundless hopes of achieved by military-technical means. In any case, however, it is entirely clear that some members of the U.S. President's circle would like for the Soviet Union to lose patience and to slam the door, thus making it easier for them to pursue the course of unrestrained growth of mass destruction weapons.

Under these circumstances, M.S. Gorbachev notes in his answers to the editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO, the American people assume special responsibility for the turn of events in the world. Nuclear disarmament must not remain the monopoly of politicians: the right to know and understand what is taking place in the world is the vital right of the nations. We see that in the United States as well, despite all chauvinistic campaigns, realistic moods are increasing and a greater understanding is being shown of the fact that the Soviet Union is not threatening the security and real interests of their country and that there are no unsolved problems between the two countries which could trigger power clashes.

There are no objective obstacles to a mutually acceptable agreement on the banning of nuclear tests. However, position held by the U.S. administration, makes reaching such an agreement difficult. Practical experience convincingly proves that persistent and consistent efforts must be displayed by the peace-loving countries and the world public to check the counteraction of aggressive imperialist circles to achieving agreements which would block the continuation of the arms race and put an end to nuclear tests and thus open the way to the elimination of nuclear arsenals. As to our country, as always, it is prepared to do everything it can to facilitate progress along this way.

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## SOVIET MORATORIUM AND U.S. NUCLEAR MILITARIZATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 110-114

[Article by Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general]

[Text] When controlled nuclear reaction became reality, the entire world gained the right to expect unprecedented benefits from the application of the energy of the atom. Mankind indeed obtained such benefits. However, in imperialist hands nuclear energy became a means of mass destruction of people, which could be used for purposes of conquest and domination. The destructive power of the atom was used for the first time in the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The nuclear bombing of these cities was of no military significance to the defeat of Japanese imperialism. It was an act of terrorism, the purpose of which was to demonstrate to the entire world the power of American imperialism.

Since that time nuclear weapons in the hands of U.S. imperialists have become not only a threat to all mankind but also the main obstacle to social progress. Nuclear weapons changed all concepts of warfare and national defense, for in a nuclear war the frontline will pass through every home.

It is difficult for Americans to realize this fact, for for no war has been fought on American territory since the Civil War of 1861-1865.

In a modern war, however, everything will be different, and in every city the frontline will be "downtown main street," or "bank street." All such fears and dangers caused by the nuclear threat become greatly intensified in Reagan's "star wars" plans. Claims that such plans are aimed at creating some kind of "umbrella" for protection against nuclear missiles are, unquestionably, the greatest possible lie in the entire history of mankind.

Actually, the "star wars" plans, the implementation of which will run into trillions of dollars, are aimed at developing new types of offensive weapons--first strike weapons located in space. Reagan's and Weinberger's refusal to join the moratorium on tests is directly related to such plans.

Nuclear militarization has penetrated all realms of U.S. life. Huge military corporations have appeared with the help of the hundreds of billions of

dollars spent by the Pentagon. Companies with a capital in the billions of dollars, such as Boeing, Lockheed, Rockwell International, and General Dynamics, feed from the trough of the nuclear monster. Military orders account for 75 percent of their production and profits. It is precisely these corporations that control the Pentagon's war business. They have become centers of support of extreme-right politicians. Fifteen percent of the trillion-dollar federal budget is deposited in the safes of private banks from interest paid on government loans. Every year the banks earn billions of dollars from national and corporate loans. Most nuclear extremists, including scientists, work for the war monopolies. They finance the campaigns of extreme-right candidates--"star war" supporters--to elective positions. The reactionary nature of the military-industrial complex is intensified by the entire activities of the war industry corporations. It is they which harvest the lion's share of the military budget, running into hundreds of billions of dollars.

Banks and financial monopolies are prospering from nuclear militarization. It is on this basis that financial capitalism is continuing to strengthen its political omnipotence. Many of the negative aspects of the crisis are directly related to the growth of military expenditures, which are already exceeding \$300 billion annually. The United States has become the biggest borrower. The national debt exceeds \$2 trillion, and is growing at the rate of \$200 billion annually.

Spending billions of dollars on nuclear armaments is creating new economic difficulties. New problems arise, which cannot be solved with the old methods used in treating economic illnesses. For example, although the economic cycle of the American economy as a whole is in a state of revival, the industrial sector has been unable to come out of its crisis in the past 2 years.

The implementation of the program for increasing nuclear armaments is creating other distortions as well. Despite the unprecedented increase in corporate profits and the unparalleled tax benefits they were granted, capital investments in industrial plants and equipment are at their lowest compared with revivals during all previous economic cycles.

The trade deficit and the federal debt are continuing to increase.

In the "good old times" of capitalism, the federal reserve system was able to control of the economy by lowering interest rates and increasing the amount of money in circulation. Today such methods no longer work.

Military expenditures are worsening the structural crisis. An example of this is the case of the U.S. Steel Corporation, the biggest U.S. steel company. Even this company was unable to avoid the consequences of the policies of the Reagan administration. Since Reagan's access to power, this corporation has already closed down 150 of its enterprises and laid off more than 50,000 steel workers.

The American people are paying a high price for the crisis caused by increased expenditures for nuclear and other armaments. In the past 10 years the real wages of American workers have dropped by 15 percent. Under the Reagan

presidency, 200,000 farmers' families have been forced to abandon their farms. The farmers owe more than \$200 billion. The poor are getting poorer and their numbers are increasing; 50 percent of young Afro-Americans, aged 16 to 24, have had jobs.

Such are the circumstances under which the struggle is being waged against the Reagan-Weinburger policy, which is aimed at achieving nuclear superiority and developing a first-strike potential.

The broad masses of the American people are deeply concerned by the threat of nuclear catastrophe and about the preservation of life on earth. In this respect, our time bears no comparison with any other period in history. The nuclear threat affects all social classes and people of all ages. It has become the "number one" problem of virtually all political trends.

The most conscious part of the population is the base of the broad range of forces opposing the nuclear threat. However, today the broadest possible American strata are becoming concerned and increasingly worried.

It is being said that more prayers are being said for ending the nuclear arms race and establishing peace on earth than for all other reasons combined. Concern with the nuclear threat is assuming a universal, a national character. This problem has united the majority of Americans.

Numerous manifestations of this concern may be seen: the leaderships of all main churches in the United States have come out with declarations condemning the manufacturing of nuclear weapons; 141 cities and counties have passed resolutions, based on population vote, in support of banning nuclear tests; resolutions have been passed in the Congress in favor of banning tests and questioning the administration's views on SALT II and the antiballistic missiles treaty; more than 1,000 organizations are part of the movement for freezing nuclear weapons; 68 percent of all Americans oppose aid to the Nicaraguan Contras and 84 percent are against using the development of new nuclear weapon systems as a means of using pressure in talks; 75 percent of the country's population favor bilateral freezing of nuclear weapons and 80 percent are in favor of the total banning of tests; 84 percent of American farmers are against the "star wars" program. All of this confirms the existence of new moods and a new way of thinking by the broad masses.

The increasing agitation among American scientists is an important new display of opposition to "star wars." In scientific circles this phenomenon has been described as the "growing consciousness crisis."

Today the list of scientific workers who have pledged not to participate in projects related to preparations for "star wars" includes thousands of names and the number of leading scientists who have refused to continue to work on "star wars" programs is impressive and continuing to grow. More than 8,000 scientists are openly opposing "star wars" plans today.

Such manifestations of mass antinuclear feelings among the broad popular strata and of organized and unorganized activities opposing the nuclear arms race and supporting the banning of nuclear tests and reaching agreements on

arms control are precisely the reasons for the environment, the atmosphere in which this struggle is being fought. Such moods are currently predominant in the thinking of the Americans and are characteristic of virtually all strata.

The development of new moods among the broad popular masses creates new problems but also, above all, new opportunities.

What we are observing is a spontaneous change in the way of thinking in the broad population masses. However, this does not develop with equal spontaneity into mass action of any kind. Hence the lack of such action consistent with the level of the mass mood. Substantial changes in the views held by Americans on the Soviet Union are most closely related to the growing concern for the preservation of life on earth. A certain decline in the influence of anti-Sovietism among Americans has been the result of the broad spontaneous antinuclear feelings. It cannot be said, however, that this change has taken place spontaneously, for it is a reaction to the antinuclear and peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It is a reaction to any extension by the Soviet Union of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and to the specific proposals submitted by the Soviet side at the Geneva talks. A mood in support of a second summit is increasing among the Americans. The other side of the coin is that the mass antinuclear feelings of the Americans are rejecting the concept of "a plague on both your houses," and that opposition to the policy of the Reagan administration is beginning to increase. The old arguments on the lack of reliable means of verification or that Soviet actions and suggestions are nothing but "propaganda" no longer coincide with the opinion of most Americans. That is why the Reagan administration is fabricating new excuses. However, the nuclear "king" is becoming increasingly naked. Despite all demagoguery and deceit, 80 percent of the U.S. population, as we said, are in favor of a ban on nuclear tests.

Today in the United States general appeals simply for "peace" or "peace on earth" do not provoke a mass response, for they do not reflect the people's worry about the threat of nuclear war. General views on war and peace cannot make the masses aware of the present danger. For this reason, if forces for peace would like to lead the people in the modern world, they must appeal to the hearts of the 80 percent of Americans who feared the prospects of a nuclear catastrophe.

In order to utilize the existing mood of the broad masses, the organized forces of peace must concentrate their efforts on banning nuclear tests, declaring a moratorium on such tests and observing the SALT II and antiballistic missile treaty and accepting the numerous other Soviet proposals aiming at the elimination of nuclear weapons. The demagoguery of Reagan and Weinburger, who are pretending to be holding serious talks whereas, in fact, are erecting all possible obstacles on the way to reaching agreements, must be exposed. Reagan would like an agreement on holding a summit to be made before the 4 November congressional elections, so that the Republican Party candidates could campaign as peace candidates. However, he would like to have the meeting itself after the elections, having no intention of making any whatsoever real progress in concluding substantive agreements.

Since the objective of the "star wars" program is the creation of new offensive nuclear weapons systems, which would be superior to all existing types of such weapons in terms of destructive power, any talks or agreements could hardly be of any value so long as Reagan refuses to include the "star wars" program in the agenda of the talks.

It is precisely in the context of all of these circumstances that the entire world not only considers and evaluates the specific actions and suggestions of the Soviet Union, such as extending the moratorium on nuclear tests, but also is beginning to understand a more important aspect of the matter: the way in which the Soviet leadership looks at the overall development of the global situation. Gradually, everyone is beginning to realize that at in Geneva the Soviet Union not only asserted its conviction that "there can be no winner" in a nuclear war and that "it must never be started," but are also the practical conclusions based on this. If there can be no winners in a nuclear war and a nuclear war must never be started it follows that specific steps must be taken to guarantee the impossibility of an outbreak of such a war. It is precisely on the basis of such an understanding that the broad masses are beginning to assess specific suggestions on this matter.

Although Reagan claims to agree with the statement that "there can be no winner," his practical actions after the Geneva summit, however, indicate something else. The creation of new nuclear weapon systems, including the "star wars" program, is based on the concept that the United States could win a nuclear war.

Therefore, two directly opposite views on the situation in the contemporary world exist.

The Reagan doctrine could only lead mankind to the precipice of nuclear catastrophe.

The policy, actions and suggestions of the Soviet Union can only lead to building a world free from nuclear weapons.

It is only within the framework of such a world that peaceful coexistence and detente can be ensured and human society can make full use of the benefits of the achievements of science and technology. It is only in such a world that mankind would be able to use in its own interest the entire potential of nuclear energy and to organize multilateral cooperation in the study and utilization of outer space. It is only in such a world that differences among countries can be solved without war and that global and national interests of different countries would not clash.

In the same way that there can be no winner of a nuclear war, there can be if nuclear weapons are eliminated.

The Soviet offensive aimed at ending the nuclear arms race coincides with the most critical stage in the development of new systems of such armaments. This was most clearly stated by M.S. Gorbachev. "It is important to emphasize," he said, "that the pace of development of military technology is so high that it is allowing increasingly less time to nations, states and politicians to

realize the real threat; it reduces the possibility of mankind to stop its slide toward the nuclear precipice. No delays are possible, for otherwise such refined armament systems will be developed that any agreement on controlling them would become generally impossible."

The approach to world problems demonstrated by the Soviet Union is a firm rejection of the concept that war is an necessary an inevitable phenomenon, a concept which has dominated the people's minds throughout the history of mankind.

However, as the Marxist-Leninist classics said, once an idea has captured the mind of the masses, it becomes an invincible material force which plots the course of history.

The support of the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions by the broad masses is a first step in this process.

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## ECOFORUM FOR PEACE

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[Article by K. Smirnov: Notes from an international conference of scientists]

[Text] A conference on "Protection of the Environment and Defense of Universal Peace," which proclaimed the appearance of a new international movement entitled "Ecoforum for Peace," was held in Varna (Bulgaria) on 25-28 August 1986.

Six years prior to the conference, the Bulgarian journal ZASHTITA NA PRIRODATA initiated an international theoretical conference by correspondence on "Man and Nature." This was not only a forum for a discussion of the gravest socioeconomic problems but also a frame for the unification of efforts to solve such problems. The European ecology meeting, which was held in France in 1982, had appointed an international scientific management of the conference. The practical coordination of the conference was assumed by Bulgarian scientists--the National Committee for the Protection of Nature under the Bulgarian National Council of the Fatherland Front. Last August the correspondence stage ended, after 88 scientists from 32 countries and representatives of 11 international organizations (UNESCO, UNEP, the "International Life Institute," the Pugwash Movement and others) held in Bulgaria a meeting the very name of which indicated two sensitive areas, two of the most important problems of contemporary civilization: ecology and peace. The objective of the meeting was to combine two powerful currents in contemporary life: the struggle against war and against the degradation of nature.

The topics covered in the debates were quite broad: nuclear-free zones--zones for optimal solution of ecological problems; responsibility of scientists for safeguarding nature and peace; ecological awareness and ecological knowledge and peace; international cooperation in environmental protection and in safeguarding peace; the role of young people in solving peace and ecology problems. Yet these were only a few of the key items combining both topics.

In the second half of the 20th century tremendous efforts were applied by mankind to lay the material foundations for self-destruction. Nuclear war is the apotheosis of human madness and, at the same time, the greatest possible

ecological catastrophe. Preparations for such a war are a path to universal genocide and even biocide--the destruction of intelligence and life in general. One must not, one cannot allow the earth to become a gigantic common grave of mankind on which the eternal flame of memory or the fire of Prometheus will never burn. We believe that mankind is merely at the beginning of its road into the future.

Scientists from west, east, north and south gathered in Varna to assess the extent of the danger and to formulate measures to prevent it. They decided to appraise all nations and governments, all individuals on earth of their concern. What actions were needed? Einstein had said that the liberated atom had changed everything other than our way of thinking. The time has now come to change this as well. Yes, new concepts, new thinking, new ethics consistent with the nuclear age are needed, an age in which the price of an error would be the existence of life itself on earth. This was what the ecologists thought and this was what governed their actions.

There is an International Red Cross. What is needed now is an International Green Cross (naturally, another name would do just as well) to provide emergency aid to the biosphere. The world needs such an assistance in the form of an unquestionable guarantee. The protection of nature and the safeguarding of peace have become so interwoven as to become essentially one and the same. It follows that the movements for peace and against the degradation of nature must be combined and acquire new organizational forms which would make it possible truly to involve millions of people on all continents in the solution of this double problem.

That is the essence. It is not a summation of what was said, or the combination of the speeches, replicas, dialogues and debates which crowded the conference. These are words which were truly spoken in Varna by different scientists representing different countries and different sciences. What is noteworthy is that these different words organically blended within a single logical chain.

From the greetings to the participants in the conference presented by T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

Peace and nature are two prime necessary conditions for life on our earth. Nature is the cradle of mankind. A thermonuclear war and an ecological catastrophe would lead to one thing only: the end of life. With full justification we describe the problem which you will discuss as a problem of destiny. Will our planet survive, this only home which man has in the universe, will our future be bright, or else will eternal night prevail: this depends on all of us....

The second half of the 20th century is the time of the scientific and technical revolution. It opens inexhaustible opportunities for the material and spiritual progress of mankind. At the same time, the scientific and technical revolution is a prerequisite for the creation of monstrous means of mass destruction. That is precisely why the problem of protecting nature, man and life is a problem of all countries and peoples, of all soberly thinking

politicians, scientists and state and public leaders, and all people on earth. It can and must be solved precisely today, today at any cost...

The role of scientists in the universal front of the struggle against death and for life is truly tremendous. I am deeply convinced that your conference will contribute to making a turn from confrontation to detente, to improving contemporary international relations and to solving the vitally important problems of environmental protection.

[Author] The principles were formulated at the conference and the boundaries were set for relations between people and states and between men and nature, boundaries which we have no right to violate under any circumstances: the ecological imperatives of peace. The main report summed up the eight reports drafted for the conference by scientists from Bulgaria, Great Britain, the Netherlands, the USSR, the United States and France. The dialectical unity of interrelationship between nature and society was analyzed in the report in connection with the entire set of contemporary global problems: energy, raw materials, demographic and others. It was no accident, however, that priority in the report was given precisely to safeguarding peace. This, if you wish, was the "gate" to most global contemporary problems. Without opening it the keys to the other gates cannot be found.

The conference not only proclaimed the ecological imperatives of peace. Convincing proof was cited in their support. The discussion was conducted on a very serious scientific basis.

Naturally, scientists are people. The word "madness" was frequently heard in their evaluations of a possible nuclear war and the actual arms race. Side-by-side with such a purely emotional evaluation, diagram curves and formulas were frequently displayed on the screen. Like a developing photograph, the madness of nuclear war and its consequences assumed clear outlines in global mathematical models.

The main, the principal argument against this madness literally lies on the surface.

Any mother who has given birth to a son or daughter will tell you that war and preparations for war are insanity. She will tell you this, for war threatens to end her kind and make her life pointless. The beings she considers most precious are threatened with death. Their protection is dictated to her by the great law of nature, the law of motherhood. In mankind this law has risen above the general animal instinct of biological reproduction and the preservation of the species, reaching spiritual heights such as Raphael's Sixtine Madonna or the Partisan Madonna by Mikhail Savitkiy, our contemporary. However, the very same thing is being said in its own language by today's science, which has accurately forecast the consequences of a world war, which would be irreversibly fatal to mankind.

A nuclear catastrophe deprives environmental protection and all other human problems of their meaning. If there is no mankind there would be no problems at all. In itself, this thought became part of the social and individual awareness of billions of people a long time ago. It has become a fact of mass

culture, generating prototypes of a nuclear apocalypse, which are generally and largely related to concepts of previous tragedies in the history of mankind and tell us little of the dimensions of a future tragedy should the people allow it to happen.

Meanwhile, efforts were made in Western scientific circles to prove that the danger is exaggerated. An American military expert even claimed that a third world war would end with a new arms race in preparations for the fourth.

Contemporary researchers, who have modeled the consequences of nuclear war, proved with figures that it will leave no place for life on earth.

The clearest scientific argument in defense of peace ever since 1945 is found in mathematical models of the consequences of nuclear war, drafted independently by scientists in the FRG, the United States and the USSR. The similarity of results is striking.

Academician N. Moiseyev (USSR):

The strict conclusion which is the result of the studies is the following: if nuclear strikes are dealt at large cities, the smoke of the fires will assemble in huge ash clouds. A dark blanket, thick and impenetrable to the sun, will block the sky over the entire earth for a long time. Under this blanket neither man nor the higher animals will be able to survive. They will suffocate. Naturally, a drastic drop in temperature will follow. Such is the essence of this phenomenon which the press describes as "nuclear night" or "nuclear winter."

To all of us Hiroshima and Nagasaki have become a symbol of nuclear death. Nevertheless, the history of World War II contains a no less serious warning for the future. The bombing of Hamburg and Dresden destroyed these German cities in hurricanes of fire (fire tornadoes, in modern terminology); they burned up in the fires and were suffocated by ash clouds. And all of this was accomplished not with nuclear but with conventional weapons (for details see KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1986--editors).

[Author] The speech by Pham Hac Kuang (Vietnam) dealt with the serious ecological consequences of the use of chemical substances by the Americans in Vietnam had in all of Indochina. This is not even a nuclear weapon. What would happen if a universal Hiroshima cannot be prevented? The reports and communications at the conference offered a detailed analysis of scientific data on the lethal consequences of a nuclear war--destructive fires, the radioactive contamination of the biosphere, increased ultraviolet radiation, reduced amount of solar light, and a sharp lowering of temperatures. Debates developed on the extent of the consequences but there were no arguments as to the main fact.

Professor A. Westing (United States):

A large-scale nuclear war, which could hit our good earth at any moment, will be a million times more horrible than the tragedy of Hiroshima both in terms of its immediate consequences as well as the incalculable direct and indirect

aftermath.... Today, unquestionably, the problem of nuclear war is global, profoundly affecting the interests not only of the two superpowers but of all nations. That is why I can only welcome the Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons tests and the recent Soviet proposals aimed at saving the world from nuclear armaments over the next 15 years.

[Author] The second argument is related to the arms race. The following viewpoint exists in the West: A nuclear war is absurd to such an extent that no one would ever start it. The arms race is merely some kind of "mutual threat." Mankind has lived under it for several decades, it will be able to continue to do so in the future.

Such a view, which dulls both the vigilance and the conscience of the people, is dangerous not only because the likelihood of a fatal error increases in geometric progression as nuclear arsenals increase and control of military hardware is assigned essentially to machines.

It is also a question of the fact that the arms race worsens and even blocks access to material and intellectual resources needed for the solution of global constructive problems, including those pertaining to ecology. They take away the space, time and means extremely necessary for the solution of such problems. Uselessly and senselessly man is wasting funds in the billions on armaments. It is also burning in such a smelt its own future, its talents and its forces, which deserve to be put to a much better use.

Professor A. Kutov (Bulgaria):

Should scientists not openly proclaim, and should the people not know the fact that by making a single F-14 nine schools remain unbuilt; the cost of a single B-1 strategic bomber is equivalent to building 16 hospitals; that of a single nuclear aircraft carrier to the cost of a powerful hydroelectric power station or 90,000 housing units; the cost of a single Trident nuclear missile submarine is equivalent to the cost of building 416 schools or of depriving funds for the schooling of 16 million children for 1 year; the cost of maintaining one soldier is the equivalent of means for the training of 53 students; the production of a single Leopard-2 tank prevents the building of 36 three-room apartments; because of the development of a single system of MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, which include more than 100 missiles and more than 4,000 launching systems, urban transport facilities which could service 35 million people daily, have not been built and operated? Do such figures not speak of the madness which threatens mankind not only with poverty but, above all, with ecological deformation, exhaustion and doom?!

[Author] Today about 750,000 square kilometers of earth are used for military purposes. This is bigger than the combined area of Spain and Portugal. According to a variety of assessments, between 400 and 600 million people in the world are hungry and about 800 million are chronically undernourished. The U.S. annual military budget switched to the creation of irrigation systems would make it possible to feed 1 billion people.

"In the 15 minutes I used in talking to you, 15 hectares of fertile land vanished in the world." This statement made by UNESCO representative L.

Palad, was no exaggeration. The desert is advancing against mankind exactly at the rate of 1 hectare per minute.

The genetic capital in the biosphere, its "gold stock" of life, is shrinking like shagreen leather. These are not abstract discussions about "nature in general." This already affects people. By the end of the 1970s, about 10 percent of children in countries such as the United States, the FRG and Japan were coming into the world with genetic defects. If the degradation of the environment goes on at the old rate, this figure will increase drastically in the immediate future.

Such are the problems on which mankind must direct its attention, funds and efforts, and its "gray matter." That is why it is extremely necessary to divert such funds once and for all away from the arms race!

Here is another argument: such an unrestrained race destroys not only nature and not only the framework of ecological cooperation in the world. It destroys morality.

Professor V. Labairie (France):

The world was indignant at the chemical warfare in Vietnam; meanwhile, the inventors of "defoliants" (weapons for the destruction of leaves) at university laboratories were not bothered in the least and would probably claim today, like the pilot who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima: "I have not spent a single sleepless night!"

[Author] The following question was asked during the debates at the conference: Does the extensive spreading of information on the horrors of a likely nuclear war destroy morality and normal human concepts of good and evil? One of the participants in the debates said: "We are excessively modeling a future war and too little a future peace. The tales man was told in his infancy, about good and evil, will determine the way he will grow up. One must be familiar with the entire 24 steps to peace and instill in the people this type of mentality, so that the human soul will be filled with peace and leave no place for war." Ya. Potamitis (Cyprus) retorted as follows: "Ignoring the threat of war will not make it any lesser. If we pretend that this danger does not exist it may turn out that we ourselves will bring it into our homes."

Indeed, mankind is not a child and precise scientific information on the danger threatening it is not a bad story. Models of the consequences of nuclear war are needed as a precise scientific knowledge, as a scalpel which will identify the antihumanism and immorality of preparations for such a war, as a weapon in the struggle for peace.

We must know what a nuclear war, a "nuclear winter" is. We must know it on a scientific theoretical basis in order to prevent its practical occurrence.

This does not exclude in the least the need for "models of peace," modeling the peaceful development of the planet. There is no contradiction here or, in any case, there is a dialectical unity of opposites.

The programmatic documents of the 27th CPSU Congress are a convincing example of the scientific orientation of economics, politics and social and cultural life of society precisely on the basis of a peaceful development in the immediate future and on a longer-range basis. Nevertheless, these documents openly and honestly mention the danger of a global thermonuclear conflict. They mention it so that this danger may be prevented with all possible forces. Our country has suggested a specific plan for nuclear disarmament until the year 2000 and is setting the example of the practical solution of this problem, as confirmed by the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, which has been extended to 1 January 1987.

Going back to the Varna conference, the building of a constructive "model of peace" was not only its supertask. In many of the speeches this model was presented in terms of real scientific developments, concepts and proposals. I am probably not the only one to remember the speech by G. Stoilov, president of the International Association of Architects. Architects, he said, were the first ecologists on earth. Today, however, they must no longer simply harmoniously blend new buildings and ensembles with their surroundings. They have the strict responsibility of developing the optimal model of interrelationship between society and nature and design the type of human environment which will depress neither nature nor man. This must be done on a global scale, under the burden of today's industrialization and urbanization (by the year 2000, according to the specialists, the population of nearly 60 cities will be over 5 million). This in itself raises architectural planning to the level of a global problem. Ecological efficiency must become the prime moral law of such constructive activities.

The development of a "second nature," in harmony with its original, is no simple task, for today the global economy as a whole is still based on technological processes which pollute the environment with industrial and agricultural waste. We are still far from a state of total reorientation toward wasteless and low-waste nature-protecting types of industry. The urgent question of expert ecological evaluation of new substances, new technologies and new designs remains.

The chemical industry alone creates today such a huge mass of new substances to serve man that it is simply difficult to predict their long-term influence on mankind. By doing something good we frequently are unaware of the extent of the bad this creates. This statement, which was made at the conference, does not apply to the chemical industry alone.

Nature must not be turned into the servant of man and man himself into the slave of technology. L. Overejn (Norway) showed during his speech slides, something unusual for such an audience which had looked mainly at charts and formulas on the screen. His slides showed a young girl against the background of a mountain landscape, a blossoming Alpine meadow. The scientist needed this image to express his main thought: "Look at the girl. She is beautiful as she is. However, against the background of the landscape she is superb. Take nature away and what remains of the person? Technology and man as slave of technology? Our human genius lies in the fact that we control technology and not vice-versa."

Yes, today the interrelationship between nature and society is complex, contradictory and, occasionally, dramatic. Nevertheless, it is precisely modern mankind, unless it starts a nuclear slaughter, that for the first time in history will have the opportunity and the need of building an ecological civilization in which production processes will be much closer to nature than they are today and will be part of it.

Professor W. Lowening (Great Britain):

Civilizations which gave birth to today's European and other countries, systematically destroyed the wealth of their lands.... The shores of the Mediterranean became barren and waterless. Greece, southern Italy, Spain and Portugal were once the richest parts of Europe. They have become the poor areas of the Common Market.... Some people may find the eroding rocky shores of Greece beautiful; this is as may be, but it was achieved at a tremendous ecological cost.

[Author] The early civilizations were not concerned with ecology. Greece was not the kingdom of harmony not only because it blossomed on the basis of slave labor, but also because it was not a model of harmony between man and nature. Such an attitude toward nature became frozen for centuries in the stereotypes of human thoughts and actions. It was shared by even the best creative minds.

Professor (J. Opshoor) (the Netherlands):

There have long been two points of view. The first is that man will free himself from his dependence on nature and begin to use it for his own purposes. This viewpoint was shared by most philosophers. It led to the fact that nature was not considered a source of wealth and social progress. In all likelihood, it was this that shaped man's structural and sociopsychological features: his inability to anticipate in his decisions future events and costs. The second viewpoint is that various sciences apply entirely different methods of analysis and have entirely different targets. Economists seek maximal well-being or output; sociologists seek the continuing development of the human potential as though environmental limitations did not exist.... We need a more realistic approach and attitude involving a new integration with traditional sciences and a restored human feeling of man's basic, metabolic relations with nature.

[Author] Today, when technologically a great deal of things have become possible to man on earth, he is facing the need to abandon a number of age-old stereotypes and ask himself what are the limits of admissibility in his earthly home, and convert to a new way of thinking, new relations and even, in the view of many participants in the conference, new aesthetics. This was the refrain of virtually all speeches. Many of them noted that today the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are setting the examples of a new style of thinking in the nuclear age.

What does a new way of thinking mean? What is the meaning of this in politics and science?

Above all, it means thinking on the basis of a global rather than strictly professional, national or regional level, the ability to take into consideration the interests of all mankind and the understanding of the extent to which everything is interrelated and interdependent in man's life today.

A new style of thinking means understanding not only the unity of all mankind but also its oneness with nature, the ecologizing of all of our searches and solutions, interests and needs, and all kinds of human activities and the assertion of an ecological culture and ecological awareness.

Finally, a new style of thinking means understanding of the fact that under contemporary conditions war can no longer be the extension of politics, that it can be nothing other than the self-immolation of mankind on the atomic pyre. That is why it must be excluded once and for all from relations among countries and people and between man and nature. This is the supreme prohibition, the supreme "taboo" of all mankind.

I. Frolov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member:

Mankind is at the start of a new stage in its development. It is no longer a question of the growth of its material and scientific and technical base but, above all, the need for molding in the mentality of the people new value and humanistic aspirations, for reason and humanism are the "eternal truths" which are the foundations of human life. We need new social, scientific, moral and ecological concepts, which must define the new conditions for the existence of mankind today and in the future. These conditions are largely related to the appearance and development of the entire system of global problems and the identification of the dialectics of the problems of war, peace and environmental protection.

Mankind must proceed in its actions and thoughts on the basis of the single strategy in solving global problems, based on the idea of its international commonality, understanding of the objective nature of the development of the world as the coexistence of different social systems and the need to take efficient steps for its implementation, and the relevance of scientific and technical and socioeconomic and sociocultural changes. The unified strategy applied in the solution of global problems must be imbued with humanism, with the ideals of social progress and international cooperation and enhancing the efforts of all mankind in solving the problems of peace and disarmament.

[Author] Specialization and the professionalization of science have resulted in tremendous scientific accomplishments. However, in a number of cases they are turning into a hindrance to science, for we are losing an overall vision of the world and man within it and of his interconnection with his habitat. That is why the scientists call for a new type, a new nature of science which, in all of its professional areas, will increasingly become the science of man.

V. Bolshakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ural Scientific Center, Plant and Animal Ecology Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member:

Why do we claim that ecology is increasingly becoming the science of man? Because it is not the biosphere in general that is becoming degraded but, precisely, the human habitat. The pyramid of live energy is threatened with destructive changes only in its upper part. However, man is found precisely at the top of the pyramid!

[Author] The logic itself of ecological studies takes them out of their strictly professional limits, truly making ecology a science of man and of his interrelationship with his environment and thus giving it an increasingly social meaning. Since mankind is becoming the powerful and all-embracing dominant feature of the biosphere, equaling the power of the most terrible forces of nature, his development in a state of unity and interaction with nature not only assumes priority as a topic of ecological research.

It lifts ecology from the level of individual biogeocenoses, such as forest or urban ecology (which, naturally, does not exclude them from the specific programs of ecological research), to the level of the entire biosphere, to the level of global problems. We must study the biosphere as a whole because of the contemporary power of man.

Scientists mathematically model processes developing in the Gulf of Mexico. One may ask what has this to do with the life of a simple resident of Paris, London, Stockholm or Warsaw? But an accident in the Gulf of Mexico, could lead to a catastrophe of global significance. It is here that the Gulfstream is generated and it is the Gulfstream that "makes the weather" of all of Europe. Yes, everything is interrelated in today's world. If the Gulf of Mexico is "sick" so is all of Europe, the entire planet.

Professor T. Kouloumbis (Greece):

Here, in Varna, where we are meeting, we are not threatened by any ecological danger whatsoever. Perhaps it would be more logical for our forum to meet somewhere among automobile garages or at a chemical plant or, in general, wherever the ecological situation is bad. Naturally, however, it is not a question of the place. We are called upon to feel and express ecological pain for the earth as a whole and for any part of the earth.

[Author] The time predicted by V.I. Vernadskiy, when man must assume responsibility for the controlled development of the biosphere, is coming (much sooner than he anticipated). To feel the ecological pain at any point on earth is an appeal to all of us, people of earth. Perhaps, however, this may be above all an appeal to those who, on the eve of the new century, will assume full responsibility for the fate of the planet--today's youth.

A round-table meeting and a meeting on "Youth and the Struggle for the Protection of the Environment and Peace" were held during the conference. The young people, the participants said, are an audience which does not know fear and, occasionally, also the limits of its self-assertion. It lacks many of the prejudices and obsolete stereotypes which are held today by people of the senior generations. This is particularly clear in terms of environmental protection. The young generation is entering life by clearly, from the very beginning, rejecting the concept of conquering nature, for people who were

born 18 to 20 years ago were already raised in a different ecological climate than were their parents.

At the same time, self-assertion is not the meaning of youth. Will the young, as they assert themselves, be able to provide answers to the key global problems of our time and, above all, problems such as safeguarding peace and nature? It does not lack daring in the solution of such problems. It is important, however, for it to have the necessary feelings of responsibility, knowledge and culture.

In order for contemporary youth to be able to live, act and struggle, the world in which it is entering has, for the first time, the possibility of a long, a century-old universal peace. However, such peace is not here yet. It is as yet to be won.

Something else as well must be remembered. Paradoxical though it might seem, lifting the burden of war from the material and spiritual potential of mankind could increase the technological pressure on the biosphere. That is why it is so important to educate and bring the young people up, those who, in the future, will inevitably replace their fathers and mothers in laboratories, fields, shops, command centers of industry, in the spirit of an obvious truth which, nevertheless, is still far from comprehensively asserted: only that which is ecological is economical.

Opposing each other on earth are the world of socialism and the world of capitalism, which profess different ideals and which formulate differently the objectives of global developments. We are deeply convinced that historical truth and future belong to socialism. However, it does not follow in the least from this that human civilization today has broken down into two isolated processes, for it is becoming increasingly clear that the historical argument between socialism and capitalism cannot be solved by a global nuclear war or by new rounds in the arms race. It will be solved through lengthy peaceful coexistence which is the dialectical unity of competition and confrontation. Naturally, this presumes not thick walls made of missiles and various types of embargoes but the search for common interests and points of contact, reciprocal understanding and cooperation in all possible fields and, above all, in the universal human opposition to the degradation of the environment.

Professor N. Bekhar (Bulgaria):

Ecological cooperation is like a barometer of the condition of international relations as a whole.

M.K. Tolba, executive director of the United Nations Environmental Protection Program (UNEP). Statement at the conference:

is frequently underestimated. The people speak a great deal of the influence of war on the environment. However, they fail to notice the way the loss of forests or decline of agriculture are, in themselves, a step toward the worsening of the economy....

Therefore, in order to celebrate the international year of peace, UNEP decided that it is necessary to begin to speak of security using the terminology not only of military defense but also of environmental protection...there is no area in which a joint solution is more needed as it is in the area of security. We believe that the peace movement must set the tone for a sensible dialogue. Everyone, regardless of his political and social views, is interested in peace.

[Author] Typically, the theoretical debates at the Varna conference were paralleled by an active exchange of information on experience and difficulties in environmental protection in various parts of the globe. Scientists from socialist and capitalist countries made their contribution to this exchange: Academician K. Bratanov, A. Lilov, S. Nedyalkov, P. Ignatov, A. Monov, Academician N. Yakhiel, P. Georgiev and V. Neykov and others (Bulgaria); T. Szentes, G. Kileni and M. Szabo (Hungary); E. Hainisch (GDR); J. Danilewski and Ch. Zimeni (Poland); P. Kniersch (West Berlin); F. Bernaldes (Spain); P. Wishar (Canada); L. Tokington (United States); Academician I. Petryanov-Sokolov, O. Kolbasov, G. Gudozhnik, E. Girusov and others (USSR); L. Rosival and J. Pospisil (Czechoslovakia); R. Vukadinovic (Yugoslavia); A.-M. Satr (Sweden); Y. Fukushima (Japan) and others.

The growth and spreading of the top and roots of the "tree" of the socioecological problem on a global level, going beyond the borders of individual countries or the framework of economic, political and military alliances, lead to changes in ordinary concepts on the areas of concentration of ecological stress. For example, it is usually considered that such stress is more typical of industrially developed than developing countries. Yet the statements of A. de Lisio (Venezuela), I. Suniga (Costa Rica), M. Bourjoli (Haiti), H. Chomba and D. Rugero (Tanzania), J. Gonzales (the Philippines) and K. Kusemia (Nigeria) indicated that environmental protection problems are becoming aggravated today in the developing countries, and are strangely interwoven with the difficulties involved in surmounting the vestiges of the colonial system, the penetration of neocolonialism in the economic and social life of these countries and the export of "dirty technologies" to the former colonies. International scientific cooperation, such as the one based on the UNESCO "Man and Biosphere" program helped to surmount such contradictions.

Faith in the possibility and need of combining the efforts of mankind to counter the nuclear threat and the ecological danger imbues the declaration adopted at the Varna conference. It proclaimed a universal "Ecoforum for Peace." This is a new international movement with the following aims:

To rally the efforts of the world scientific community and all other communities and movements aimed at ensuring the joint development or joint evolution of mankind and nature as a necessary prerequisite for life and social progress:

To support global ecological and related movements in their efforts to mobilize the peoples and to urge on the governments of all countries, north, south, west and east, to achieve peace and its preservation throughout the world and a respective development on firm social and ecological foundations;

To motivate scientific colleagues throughout the world to contribute to the establishment of confidence among nations, which is needed in order to attain such objectives.

"During this international year of peace, proclaimed by the United Nations," the declaration adopted at the conference reads, "we extend a friendly hand to anyone who wants to work with us for the sake of a peaceful, stable and just global community."

The practical problems of the "Ecoforum for Peace" will be solved by a board consisting of seven members: N. Bekhar (Bulgaria), W. Lowering (Great Britain), V. Labairie (France), J. Opshoor (the Netherlands), A. Westing (United States), I.T. Frolov (USSR) and Y. Fukushima (Japan). The headquarters and secretariat of the new international movement will be located in Bulgaria.

The participants in the conference turned with an appeal to the peoples and government of the world entitled "Survival of Mankind and Life on Earth." It states, among other:

"All of us have realized not only the fact that such problems are inseparably interrelated, so that the solution of one demands the solution of another but, furthermore, that they are of a truly global nature, i.e., that their solution will require international cooperation among east and west and north and south. Above all, however, said problems are being continually aggravated, for which reason postponing their solution will become increasingly difficult and dangerous.

"Therefore, we have reached the understanding that the fate of mankind and life on earth depend on the following:

"1. The prevention of nuclear war, which will bring about the immediate devastation of the planet;

"2. Putting an end to the arms race, including ending nuclear tests, which not only degrade the environment as a result of their direct influence but also, furthermore, are beginning to prevail over the needs to protect the environment and other social requirements and, above all, which can bring nothing but nuclear war;

"3. Balancing human needs with ecological limitations through the harmonious development of mankind.

"We are most deeply convinced that the seriousness of the interrelated problems of war and environmental degradation which face us require new ways of thinking, which will lead to the appearance of new behavioral standards in industry, economics, science and education and, essentially, to taking into consideration ecological prospects in all varieties of human activities."

Yes, today man can do a great deal by combining his isolated efforts into millions and billions of efforts. He can prevent a nuclear "end of the world" and nip in the bud its ecological end. History has offered mankind such an

opportunity. Whether it will be able to use it depends on everyone of us. Every person must break the shell of his own customs, prejudices and biases and surmount, if it is there, his alienation from the dangerous, inflamed and obvious wounds of mankind, regardless of the reasons of such alienation, be they academic professionalism of the scientists or a philistine philosophy which says that "We are little people, others make decisions for us." He must put his will and participation on the balance of universal alternatives. It is thus and only thus that the world and the beautiful nature on our earth can be saved. This is an either or matter. There is not third choice.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### USEFUL LENIZDAT INITIATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 123-124

[Review by Yu. Kudryavtsev]

[Text] The renovation of all areas of our life, initiated with the April plenum and the 27th Party Congress, is continuing. It affects everyone and is manifested in everything. Last summer, in his Khabarovsk speech, M.S. Gorbachev said that one must begin "the entire work on the reorganization with oneself, with determining one's civic stance, with enhancing political and labor activities and increasing responsibility for assignments and end results."

That is why the critical and self-critical attitude toward problems which arise in the process of the reorganization and the innovative approach to their solution become particularly important. The series "27th CPSU Congress: The Party's Plans Are the Plans of the People. The Delegates Speak," the publication of which was actively started by the Leningrad publishers soon after the congress, is about people who are actively promoting the party's course in life and converting the energy of thought into energy of action, and about their initiative-minded efforts.

The pamphlets included in the series are not merely stories by Leningrad delegates about their work and their impressions of the party forum. Why conceal it, numerous postcongress publications, articles and books sometimes limit themselves more to popularizing the decisions of the congress without specifically indicating the means leading to their implementation. In this the Leningrad series is advantageously different from some other publications. Each pamphlet is, essentially, a consideration of a specific program for the renovation of the author's area of work--industry, science, agriculture or culture--and the program with which the delegates went to the party congress and which are now given a new impetus and a new scale.

Academician I.A. Glebov, Hero of Socialist Labor and USSR State Prize laureate, discusses how to achieve a closer link between science and production and use most efficiently scientific developments in the national economy. The Leningrad scientists have something to be proud of, for they have accomplished a great deal. Nonetheless, a great deal more is needed

today. One of the ways of achieving a true intersectorial concentration of scientific work and increasing the direct returns from the "science-industry" complex is undertaking the implementation of scientific and technical programs (territorial or territorial-sectorial) and the program-target management of scientific research. However, such conversion is no simple matter. It is hindered by the inertia of yesterday's way of thinking and management methods and existing stereotypes. Progress is also held back by departmentalism. It can be surmounted, as the author convincingly proves, by setting up territorial program control authorities. A clear example of such a considered approach to the solution of this problem is the "Intensification-90" program which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. Work on this program is dynamically developing with the direct guidance of the Leningrad party obkom.

L.I. Grigoryeva, master of machine milking at the Rastsvet Sovkhoz, Priozerskiy Rayon, Leningrad Oblast, writes about the activities and postcongress searches of her production collective and about difficulties and unused reserves. The author never loses track of the main figure: the individual, with his successes and failures, and interests and concerns, who is behind the problems of agricultural mechanization and automation, the training of specialists for the countryside and the reorganization of agricultural management. A good third of the pamphlet describes lost opportunities in the development of the social sphere in the countryside and how to involve in agriculture active, talented and technically knowledgeable young people.

Professor A.P. Lukoshkin, rector of the Leningrad Aviation Instrument Manufacturing Institute, describes the work of the VUZ under the conditions of the experiment in the intensive target training of specialists for the national economy. What is the nature of the experiment (incidentally, A.P. Lukoshkin is one of its authors), which has been carried out since 1984 in 34 VUZs in Russia? Its initiators set up groups of capable students, brought them together within a new department and suggested to them that they train on the basis of a much more difficult and complete program, so that, graduating as engineers, they could immediately participate in the production process without a lengthy adaptation. In other words, every student is oriented toward specific activities and, furthermore, toward work in a specific job. The author describes the course of the experiment and accomplishments after the 27th Party Congress. He critically analyzes the present VUZ training system. How to take into consideration enterprise demands for skilled specialists? How to intensify the training process? How to open the road to "big science" to talented and industrious young men and women and remove from the VUZs students who are unwilling to learn? The institute's rector answers these and other problems currently being solved in Leningrad.

The pamphlets in the series include a story by Army General B.V. Snetkov, on the postcongress life of military personnel in the Leningrad Military District; the thoughts of I.G. Kravchenko, general director of the Gatchinskoye Specialized Association on the further intensification of agriculture. P.I. Radchenko writes about major changes in the activities of the Lenelektronmash Scientific-Production Association, which he heads. Publishing plans for this year include a pamphlet by Twice Hero of Socialist Labor V.S. Chicherov, head of a fitter-assembly worker brigade, Hero of

Socialist Labor USSR People's Actor K.Yu. Lavrov and other Leningrad delegates to the congress.

This Lenizdat series clearly proves that the resolutions of the congress have triggered in the Soviet people the great desire to achieve great results in their work and have brought to life a number of new ideas, plans and specific suggestions. It is very important for the experience of the progressive collectives and the initiatives of innovators are being so quickly and convincingly offered to the broadest possible masses, initiating creative thoughts and the desire for further quests. The Lenizdat initiative is, unquestionably, useful and timely.

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## MAJOR FACTOR IN WORLD POLITICS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 124-126

[Review by Academician S. Tikhvinskiy of the book "Dvizheniye Nepri soyedineniya" [The Nonaligned Movement]. Professor I.I. Kovalenko responsible editor. Nauka, Chief Editorial Board for Eastern Literature, Moscow, 1985, 421 pp]

[Text] The 8th Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries, which was recently held in Harare, was a major event in international life. It convincingly proved that the growing aspiration of these countries to continue in the path of exerting an active and positive influence on world politics in the interest of safeguarding and strengthening peace, securing the universal safety and freedom of the peoples and assuming greater responsibility for the fate of mankind. This high nonalignment forum proved once again that today there is virtually no global problem that can be solved without the participation and support of the countries rallied within this movement which includes roughly half of all mankind and which has become an influential political force in our time and the largest worldwide intergovernmental association of liberated countries.

The establishment and development of such an outstanding phenomenon of our time, naturally, has been a subject of systematic, and profound consideration by Soviet scientists. Today as well we can say that in our science a new research area has been developed, in which a large group of noted specialists is fruitfully participating--specialists in international affairs, philosophers, economists, jurists and diplomats--working together on coauthorship projects. A number of significant works have been published on problems of nonalignment. Another basic collective work on this topic was recently published.

Its authors, who have used extensive data, some of which unfamiliar to most readers, trace the history of the appearance and fast growth of the nonaligned movement. They discuss its comprehensive activities in the international arena and, in particular, in the United Nations, and its attitude toward the most important problems of global politics. They describe the place and significance of the movement in safeguarding world peace and security and the freedom and independence of the peoples. The readers will find in the book

exhaustive information on the legal foundations and ways and means of work and the role of nonaligned countries in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination and for the creation of zones of peace and the reorganization of global economic relations on a just and democratic basis. A separate chapter describes the principle-minded position of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community, who show understanding and sympathy for the objectives and activities of the nonaligned movement and highly value its positive role as an important factor in world politics.

In his message to the participants in the 8th Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries, M.S. Gorbachev noted that the development of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and these countries "has always been and will remain one of the most important trends in its foreign policy." "We," he said, "see in the nonaligned movement, despite the great variety of its members, a powerful force opposed to war and aggression, imperialism, colonialism and racism, a force which increases the potential of peace, reason and goodwill."

In the course of its existence, after covering a long and difficult distance, the movement has become a major international political force, rallying within its ranks more than 100 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. The aspiration of the authors, based on Marxist-Leninist principles of historicism, to describe to the readers, above all, the nature of this relatively new phenomenon in contemporary international life, to trace its ideological-political origins and to bring to light the prerequisites for increasing its role, influence and weight in world affairs, is understandable. These premises, as the authors accurately point out, include the fact that objectively nonalignment is consistent with the basic interests of the peoples of the liberated countries, who are trying to surmount the difficult legacy of the colonial past and advance in strengthening their political autonomy and to achieve economic independence and social progress. These countries which, as V.I. Lenin said, have been kept by the colonizers for centuries "outside historical progress," have now turned from an object of politics to its active participants and begun to play an important role in deciding the destinies of the entire world. The success of the movement is largely due to the fact that it is closely related to the upsurge of the national liberation struggle and relies on the moral and political support of the progressive and advanced forces of our planet, the socialist community above all.

The nonaligned movement was born during a complex and tense period of contemporary history, the period of the "cold war," when imperialism countered the powerful pressure of the national liberation movement with an aggressive neocolonialist policy, in an effort to impose upon the young independent countries new forms of political and economic domination and to involve them in its military blocs. The struggle against this type of imperialist policy and against slavish indebtedness and for the establishment of a just world economic order and the elimination of the last major bastion of colonialism and racism--the Pretoria regime--is continuing to this day, as the proceedings of the Harare conference indicated.

We must give credit to the far-sightedness and perspicacity of the founders of the nonaligned movement who, in counteracting imperialist policy and rejecting

the notorious "divide and rule" principle, formulated the idea of nonparticipation in the aggressive adventures of the West and proclaimed the need for displaying unity and cohesion for the sake of peace and freedom of the peoples. However, to the initiators of the nonaligned movement, the resolve not to join imperialist pacts did not mean passiveness or isolation in international affairs. They saw in this, above all, a positive content, the possibility of jointly pursuing an active policy and constructively influencing international life in the interest of the safe future of all mankind.

The authors of the monograph point out that as the movement developed, its ideas and objectives became richer and the range of problems considered at the meetings of its participants broadened; the share of major political, economic and social problems increased noticeably. On a parallel basis, the forms of unanimity and unity of action of nonaligned countries became more specific and advanced. These processes contributed to the consolidation of the movement on the principle-minded platform of anti-imperialism and anticolonialism.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that the movement is also a rather disparate, complex and contradictory community. It includes an exceptionally broad range of countries different in terms of their social aspect, forms of state power and political orientations and ideological views. Naturally, such an internal heterogeneity cannot fail to affect its activities, the formulation and implementation of its fundamental principles and the deployment of its forces. It is on this that the enemies of nonalignment rely in their efforts to divide the movement, to increase its centrifugal tendencies and to weaken its interaction with the other progressive forces of our time, the members of the socialist community above all.

Despite the entire variety and heterogeneity of nonaligned countries, they share some common factors which unite them and which contribute to their consolidation. The similarity of historical destinies and commonality of tasks of national development and the existence of a common enemy--imperialism--and concern for the preservation and consolidation of peace on earth are all factors which serve the cause of strengthening their positive potential and creating a stable foundation for political action and cooperation.

The authors, who analyzed these trends, conclude that the political weight, influence and efficiency of the movement depend, above all, on the firmness and consistency with which its participants follow an anti-imperialist and anticolonialist line, struggle for the assertion of the principles of freedom and independence of the peoples in the international arena and work for an end to the arms race and the prevention of a global thermonuclear catastrophe.

The vital interests of the nonaligned movement demand its further unification and strengthened unity and cohesion. They are major prerequisites of past and guarantees of future successes. It is precisely thus that the movement can enhance its prestige and influence even further and make a worthy contribution to defending the cause of peace and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, i.e., in the implementation of the lofty and noble principles for the sake of which it was created.

This new work by Soviet scientists is a major advance in the theoretical and practical interpretation of the long experience of the nonaligned movement and its nature and characteristic features. Life, however, does not stand still. It presents researchers with new problems and sets stricter requirements to them, particularly in the light of the profound and creative analysis of the objective laws and trends of the contemporary stage in international relations contained in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress.

In our view, a further serious study is needed of the socioclass nature of the movement, problems of international interaction among the various political trends and processes related to activities in the international arena. The precise scientific forecasting of the further development of the nonaligned movement, based on the strict study and realistic assessment of its political potential, is quite important. In this case our scientists will obviously have their say. A substantial foundation for this work, however, has been unquestionably laid.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 126-127

[Text] S.V. Kolesnikov and V.I. Usanov. "Spravedlivost Sotsializma" [The Justice of Socialism]. Sovetskaya Rossiya, Moscow, 1986, 176 pp. Reviewed by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Kolganov and Candidate of Economic Sciences O. Leonova.

The CPSU program requirement of the fuller implementation of the principles of social justice in all areas of social life, organically inherent in socialism, is the most important inseparable component of the strategy of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society, substantiated by the party and energetically implemented today. It is this strategy that defined the "social order" for the development of this topic in social science and publicism. This book, published by Izdatelstvo Sovetskaya Rossiya, deals with the area in which these two sciences intersect.

Essentially, this is an initial attempt at a comprehensive scientific-publicistic interpretation of the question of social justice in its comprehensive present aspect. The book includes a historical-retrospective essay on the establishment and development of the idea of social justice in social thinking, from utopian "searches of a dream" (see pp 5-17) to the truly scientific Marxist-Leninist concept (see pp 17-34), and a description of the main landmarks, trends and results of the actual embodiment of the latter in the past and present of Soviet society, the formulation of problems of the further development of the principles of social justice as a necessary prerequisite and component and result of the acceleration of our movement toward the new qualitative status of the first phase of the communist system.

In describing the essence of the views held by Marx, Engels and Lenin on social justice, the authors point out the illusory nature of its "perpetuity" and suprahistorical nature and stress the need for a specific-historical and class-oriented approach to this topic. They relate the foundations of the criteria and forms of justice inherent in our society to the general communist principles of the system of production relations (ownership by the whole nation, collectivism and direct socialization of labor on a national economic scale, the supreme objective of public production, and the functioning of

social consumption funds) and its specific socialist foundations, above all the principle of distribution according to labor. It is precisely the range of problems in the systematic implementation of this principle, updated by the party, including the elimination of equalization in wages and of unearned income, the development of the brigade method of labor organization, regulating the conditions of individual labor activities, perfecting inheritance rights, eliminating the shortage of consumer goods and the rationalization of individual needs that are especially discussed in the book (see pp 57-86). Rich factual data are harnessed and a number of practical recommendations are formulated.

Unfortunately, the authors, who accurately emphasize the historical nature of the criteria of social justice under the conditions of the new society, and the fact that "any attempt at rushing and picking the fruits before they are ripe, could generate and is generating elements of unfairness" (p 54), do not especially raise in this connection the most important problem: the proper utilization of commodity-monetary relations and the law of value on a socialist basis, merely touching fragmentarily upon such problems which they discuss within the context of others.

Going far beyond the framework of strictly economic problems, the authors analyze quite thoroughly the implementation of the principles of justice in CPSU social policy and the development of democratic and self-governing principles in the political system of socialist society and in its international relations. The book ends with interesting thoughts on the role of set principles in the work of the Communist Party, aimed at perfecting the standards of party life. It is such standards that must become a model of truly just relations among people on the scale of the entire society, as it is being renovated and advancing to higher stages of maturity.

We believe that this book will be of use to a wide range of readers.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 86 (signed to press 20 Sep 86) pp 127-128

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